

1-1-1977

# A case study of an attempt to implement public participation in the decision making process in a government bureaucracy.

Cheryl Stone

*University of Massachusetts Amherst*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations\\_1](https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1)

---

## Recommended Citation

Stone, Cheryl, "A case study of an attempt to implement public participation in the decision making process in a government bureaucracy." (1977). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 3204.  
[https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations\\_1/3204](https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/3204)

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@library.umass.edu](mailto:scholarworks@library.umass.edu).

SWASS/AMHERST



312066012571923

A CASE STUDY OF AN ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT  
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION  
MAKING PROCESS IN A GOVERNMENT  
BUREAUCRACY

A Dissertation Presented

By

CHERYL STONE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

April

1977

Education

(c) All Rights Reserved 1977

Cheryl Stone




A CASE STUDY OF AN ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT  
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION  
MAKING PROCESS IN A GOVERNMENT  
BUREAUCRACY

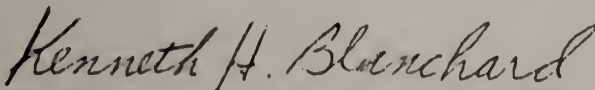
A Dissertation Presented

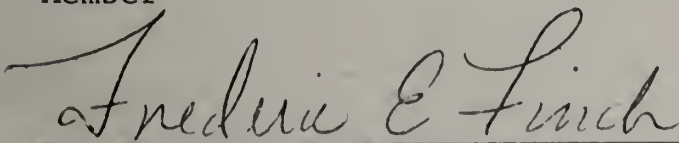
BY


CHERYL STONE

Approved as to style and content by:

  
Dr. Sidney B. Simon, Ed.D., Chairman

  
Dr. Kenneth H. Blanchard, Ph.D.,  
Member

  
Dr. Frederic E. Finch, Ph.D.,  
Member

  
Mario Fantini, Dean  
School of Education

## DEDICATION

TO:

Richard, with whose help this  
Dissertation would not have been  
possible.

TO:

George and Leigh and Fred with whose  
help it was possible.

AND TO:

Sylvia and Jeannie and Ann and Arch,  
and Marie, the Lady Doctors who were  
beside me every step of the way.

## ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY OF AN ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT  
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION  
MAKING PROCESS IN A GOVERNMENT  
BUREAUCRACY

(April 1977)

Cheryl Stone, B.A., University of Massachusetts

M.Ed., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Sidney Simon

Public participation in decision making has been the basis of democratic government in this country since its' inception 200 years ago. However, as the population has grown, industrial and technological innovation have created an "organizational society" and our simple representative government has become a "mass democracy." With this change, it has become difficult to implement as a reality the ideal of citizen participation.

While the literature on public participation varies widely in its' approach and emphasis, there seems to be some agreement that successful participation exists only when there is substantial public influence in the formation of decisions concerning public policy.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the following hypothesis

Individuals will feel that they are active participants in their own governance to the extent that they can effect the making of decisions which affect them.

Thus, the assumption is that participation is directly related to perceived influence.

This paper presents a study of participation in a state agency in two parts. The first part is a case study of an attempt to foster citizen participation in one region of the agency. The second part is an organizational analysis of the agency itself, including real and ideal perceptions of influence across all levels, from citizens' groups to the agency's central office.

The results of the case study demonstrate the difficulty of institutionalizing real public influence in public bureaucracies. In the last analysis, this attempt was a failure in that the agency blocked implementation of participation which would lead to substantive changes in the hierarchical structure. The implications of this case are discussed in regard to the resistance of public bureaucracies to social change as well as the difficulties of implementing such programs.

The results of the organizational analysis showed clear statistical differences between actual influence (a strict hierarchy) and ideal influence (equality across levels) in the agency.

Finally, this paper concludes with a discussion and suggestions by the author on two major points: how can an interventionist proceed in a project in public participation in the public sector, and should efforts at public participation be attempted at all?

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION. . . . .	iv
ABSTRACT. . . . .	v
LIST OF TABLES. . . . .	xii
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	xiii

## CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY . . . . .	1
Background. . . . .	1
Purpose of the Study. . . . .	6
Significance of the Study . . . . .	7
Methodology . . . . .	9
Introduction.....9	
The Case Study.....9	
The Instrument.....10	
Interviews.....10	
Limitations of the Study. . . . .	10
Definition of Terms . . . . .	12
Summary and Outline . . . . .	13

## CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND. . . . .	15
Introduction. . . . .	15
Five Perspectives on Participation. . . . .	19
Public Participation:	
Political Theory.....20	
Public Participation:	
Organizational Theory.....23	

Public Participation:	
Mechanical (Planning) Theory..	27
Public Participation:	
Psychological Theory.....	31
Public Participation:	
Social-Psychological Theory...	35
Definitions.....	37
Strategies for Increasing	
Participation.....	38
Results.....	39
Participation and Power. . . . .	39
Introduction.....	39
Polar Dimensions of Power.....	40
Power Within Participation.....	42
Summary on Participation and Power . . . . .	44
Analysis on Participation and Power. . . . .	46
Conclusions. . . . .	50

### CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY. . . . .	52
Introduction . . . . .	52
Note . . . . .	52
Hypotheses . . . . .	53
Location . . . . .	56
Procedure. . . . .	57
Description of the Sample. . . . .	60
Measures . . . . .	61
Interviews.....	64
Delimitations of the Study . . . . .	66
Summary. . . . .	68



## CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY. . . . .	69
Introduction. . . . .	69
The Actors. . . . .	69
Introducing the Agency.....	69
Introducing the Team.....	71
Introducing the Region.....	74
The Case. . . . .	78
Meetings.....	78
Summary.....	100
In Retrospect: Taped Interviews. . . . .	105
What the Agency Thought.....	106
What the Region Thought.....	110
What the Chief Investigator Had to Say.....	114
Summary.....	116
Analysis. . . . .	117
Conclusion. . . . .	122

## CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA. . . . .	124
Introduction. . . . .	124
Data From the Questionnaires. . . . .	125
Hypothesis 1.....	125
Hypothesis 2.....	126
Hypothesis 3.....	127
Hypothesis 4.....	129
Hypothesis 5.....	130
Hypothesis 6.....	132
Hypothesis 7.....	133
Hypothesis 8.....	138
Hypothesis 9.....	139
Hypothesis 10.....	142
Hypothesis 11.....	147
Hypothesis 12.....	150
Summary of the Data.....	153
Observations on the Question- naire Data.....	155



## Page

Data from the Interviews. . . . .	159
Rationale.....	159
The Process of Interviewing....	162
Results of the Interviews.....	163
Analysis of the Interviews.....	168
Interviews: Supporting	
Quotations.....	171
Definitions of Public Parti-	
cipation (Information Sharing	
or Sharing of Decision	
Making.....	171
How It's All Going.....	176

Summary . . . . .	178
-------------------	-----

## CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	180
Introduction. . . . .	180
Summary of the Study. . . . .	180
Summary of the Conclusions of This Study. . .	181
Recommendations . . . . .	182
Final Statement . . . . .	189
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	191
APPENDIX I. . . . .	197
APPENDIX II . . . . .	198
APPENDIX III. . . . .	199
APPENDIX IV . . . . .	200
APPENDIX V. . . . .	201

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1	FIVE PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION. . . . .	17
2	THE INTERACTION OF POWER WITH FIVE PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION . . . . .	41
3	THE STRUCTURE OF THE AGENCY ORGANIZATION AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT PROJECT TEAM. . . . .	77
4	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF INFLUENCE RATINGS BY HIERARCHY AND ITEM BY FOUR REGIONS. . . . .	135
5	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF INFLUENCE RATINGS BY HIERARCHY AND ITEM . . . . .	144
6	CHART/TABLE OF INTERVIEW INFORMATION. . . . .	165
7	CONTINUUM OF PARTICIPATION. . . . .	170

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		Page
1	Control Graph. . . . .	61
2	Actual and Ideal Perceived Influence in the Total Organization. . . . .	128
3	Actual and Ideal Perceived Influence in the Middletown Region . . . . .	131
4	Actual Influence in the Total Organization as Perceived by all Regions . . . . .	136
5	Actual Influence in the Total Organization as Perceived by Regional Hierarchical Level . . . . .	137
6	Ideal Influence in the Total Organization as Perceived by all Regions. . . . .	140
7	Ideal Perceived Influence in the Total Organization as Perceived by Regional Hierarchical Levels. . . . .	141
8	Actual Perceived Influence in the Total Organization . . . . .	145
9	Actual Perceived Influence in the Total Organization by Four Hierarchical Levels . . . . .	146
10	Ideal Perceived Influence in the Total Organization . . . . .	148
11	Ideal Perceived Influence in the Total Organization by Hierarchical Level . . . . .	149
12	Mean Differences Between Ratings of Actual and Ideal Perceived Influences in the Total Organization. . . . .	151
13	Mean Differences Between Ratings of Actual and Ideal Perceived Influences by Hierarchical Levels . . . . .	152

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### Background

Participation by the public has been the definitive aspect of the democratic form of government for the most recent 200 years it has been in existence. In the United States the definition of public participation almost has gone without saying--all people are equal--equal in importance, in opportunity and in the power that each may legitimately exert over the direction of societal events that affect their lives. How such a definition is to be operationalized is as simple and traditional as our beliefs about its' definition: the individual person stands up and acts.

Though there are several major theories of democracy and at least a few forms of democratic government this popular view about the person-government relationship has remained central in the minds of our citizens. The center around which this view revolves has been the notion of individual initiative and power. As a definition and a strategy it has gone unchallenged by the population for the last hundred years (interestingly enough, a particularly expansionary period, both technically and socially). The

last 20 years have, however, witnessed massive challenges. Calls for the redefinition and revitalization of democracy and public participation are frequently voiced. As Argyris (1970, p. 3) notes;

Since the '50's, there has been a strong movement towards participation. . . toward community control. . . number of laws, such as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which included the idea of citizen participation. . .

These efforts at revitalization have increasingly been focused on the discrepancy between the traditional rhetoric of the ideal of participation and the modern reality of the difficulties of its' implementation. Interests in revitalization have escalated to demands as the limits of the freedoms set forth in our constitution have been tested. Civil rights protests, inner-city outcries for voice in decision making, ecological campaigns, worker unrest, strikes, lack of productivity, student uprisings and White House pickets all attest to a discrepancy between ideals and realities.

In spite of the dedication on the part of planners and participants, attempts to realign expectations with realities have not been successful. At least one reason for this is obvious: Where once the United States was a huge continent with a sparse population, it is now a mass society. Vast numbers of people have moved our form of government from a simple representative form to a democracy of the masses.

In its' 200 year history, while the United States was complacently living with an individualized notion of democracy, participation, individual and group power, the industrial and then technological revolutions were taking place. The agrarian society of a few was transformed into masses of culturally divergent peoples with correspondingly different views on how things "ought to be." Farming and individualism have given way to bureaucratic structures that never entered the imaginations of the founders of this kind of social relationship. And, as Coperstock (1975, p. 13) would have us believe, ". . .pure democracy can only work with small groups making limited decisions. . ."

It is in the very nature of the structure of the bureaucracies and large organizations created to deal with masses of humanity that people are put out of touch, unable to influence the decisions which concern their lives. The pressures for change have a variety of sources.

Despite the fact that mass society, bureaucracies and organizations have changed the social relations of the democratic form of government, citizens want the old heritage. For it is integral to our democratic value system that it is the right and duty of people to take part in the making of decisions that effect their lives. Protest movements can be seen as an expression of this desire:

. . .People finally revolted and politicians acted.  
If the planner would not focus on the process of



implementation and voluntarily involve the citizen, laws would be passed requiring their participation through citizen groups. . . (Argyris, 1970, p. 4)

On one hand, the resolution of such conflicts, by the return of people to such "traditional" behaviors seems a simple solution. The difficulty with this positive idea is that the difference in our society (the change from agrarian to mass) correspondingly means a difference in how to participate and what it means. What part should masses of people play in making decisions which have time limitations? Can divergent, non-elitist populations come, unaided, to equitable solutions? And most important, with so many new forms of resources and power, who should get what power and what should be done with the power once it is possessed? Coperstock's (1975, p. 15) conceptualization of this process is one of several that have been voiced:

. . . The issue was thus clearly more complex than any single issue concept. Participation might be okay. Control or Power? Nothing doing! Besides, why replace one control with another? Power to the people? Which people? This is called circularity. . .

And these theoretical questions are simple compared to the difficulties encountered when methods and ideals based on representative democracy are applied to the problems of a mass democracy.

For though participation has clearly been the order of the day, confusion in terms of goals and structures have led to a multitude of failures to bring about public

participation. The useless expenditure of vast sums of money ". . . problems in Model Cities planning. . . failure of HUD. . ." (Coperstock, 1975, pp. 5-13) is common place. These failures in turn create new problems as masses of needy people retire from the public arena in apathy, rebellion or belligerent militancy derived from attempts resulting in failures to negotiate "the system."

The tremendous confusion concerning the nature and use of public participation (if not democracy) is reflected in the reports of observers seen so often in the news, in journals and in books. A multitude of questions are raised and left unanswered. These questions concern issues such as the following: Is participation a panacea? What is the nature of citizen participation? What is the relation between participation, power and bureaucratic structure? These issues are explored in the works of such writers as Conde, 1969; Howe, 1968; Coperstock, 1975; Halpin, 1958; Mico, 1973; and other key theorists and applied social scientists.

It seems clear that there are a multiplicity of conflicting issues in, and definitions of, public participation. Those who attempt to define or implement it, and those who experience it, all express dissatisfaction with such areas. Participation is seldom accomplished according to people's satisfaction, in spite of the efforts of all concerned.



### Purpose of the Study

While the information offered by contributors on the subject of public participation varies widely both in view points and particulars, this author has been able to discover at least two constant factors in the literature on the subject. Definitions pay at least lip service to the ideal that public participation equals public influence with respect to public policy formulation and implementation. Second, there is an obvious trend in the notable lack of successful implementation efforts (particularly in public bureaucracies). Indeed this author has not, to date uncovered even one successful case report from within this country. Reports of failures are rare as well, though discussions about the general changes in our society and causes of failures are plentiful.

Since lack of success and accompanying theories to explain these are so plentiful, it makes sense to attempt to learn first hand from the wealth of data provided by such attempts. Integrating theory with concrete events of the variety provided in case reports seems a practical and useful tool, particularly for the practitioner.

In view of these observations, this particular study will attempt to address such concerns by presenting actual events from a participatory effort. These attempts will be examined in the light of relevant knowledge. Such

questions as the following will be of prime concern: Is there a relationship between the locus of influence in a bureaucratic hierarchy and the success of an attempt to implement public participation? If so, is there a connection between failures in public participation and a lack of public influence. To be more exact, the purpose of this study is to explore the following hypothesis:

Individuals will feel that they are active participants in their own governance to the extent that they can effect the making of decisions which effect them.

### Significance of the Study

Much pressure for action is being exerted on government bureaucracies and organizations alike to respond to citizen needs. These needs and demands call for the implementation of decision making by legislators and by the citizens who want a voice in the decisions which affect their lives. Continuing pressure from these sources make participation a trend which will have to be contended with in planning, business and a multitude of other areas which impact on the lives of people. In fact, to date, such pressure has already prompted the spending of vast amounts of public funds on projects. Many such projects have failed, due to incomplete information on the subject and a lack of successful strategies (both for public participation implementation in an organizational society, and with the organizational change required to effect it).

Without solving these problems, wasted effort and money will continue to be poured into similar attempts, in the hope of meeting demands.

Of the many failures that result due to these factors, few come to light and so, other attempts rarely have the opportunity to make use of knowledge won from hard experience (on the nature of participation, change in organizational society, and the role of the interventionist). This paper is the study of such an attempt. It will present experience, theory, evaluations and suggestions on the subject. Hopefully, this information will be of use to those who may make similar attempts in the future.

In addition, this paper will attempt to explain a failure in public participation in terms of a particularly relevant organization--a public bureaucracy. Such agencies are prime targets for attempts at public influence, in their role as "servants of the people." And yet, perhaps due to their complexity, little research has been attempted which attempts to examine the nature of their operations at the level of organizational change.

Altogether, this should be a contribution in two fairly new areas; first, the examination of an attempt at the implementation of public participation. Second, the dynamics of a public bureaucracy in its' response to change. Such a contribution in these two areas seems to be

coming at a time of great need for any such relevant information.

## Methodology

### Introduction

This study uses three different research methodologies in order to bring data to bear on the research question. First, a case study of an attempt to implement public participation in the operations of a large public bureaucracy. Second, an attitude survey administered to a significant number of people involved in this attempt at participation, and in the total bureaucracy as well. Third, interviews of key informants in both the case study and total bureaucracy concerning perceptions and interpretations of events in the area of participation.

### The Case Study

A chapter of this paper will consist of a case study of an attempt to implement public participation in the operation of a public bureaucracy. This author's involvement in that process was in the facilitation of participatory sharing in public involvement, and subsequent training of the public (in order to provide them with knowledge and skills to increase their ability to have an impact on the decision-making process of that agency). A logbook of daily reports on the events of this project were kept by this author and are the basis of the case study.

### The Instrument

Tannenbaum's (1968) control graph and questionnaire is used as a measure of perceptions of control on the part of the sample population of this particular bureaucracy. The instrument consists of two sets of scores (real and ideal) concerning perceptions of power each level of the organization has about itself and other levels.

### Interviews

The information gathered from the case study and the attitude survey is further supplemented by interviews with key informants from each level of the organization. The interview consists of three open-ended questions dealing with public participation, methods proposed for implementing this participation, and perceptions of control within the organization.

Further interviews from key informants in the case study are presented. These interviews consist of the account of each interviewee as to the events in the intervention, as well as a critical evaluation of these events.

### Limitations of the Study

There are five important limitations in the design of this study. First, it is a single, post hoc case study. As such, it is difficult to predict the extent to which generalizations of its' findings can be made to other



organizations or settings (however, a variety of methods are used to minimize this problem). Second, the person describing the case and directing the evaluation of the study was a member of the implementation team. Such participant observation may, to some degree, jeopardize the objectivity of the case part of the study. Third, the instruments used are attitudinal and consist of one questionnaire which is supplemented by interviews. Such action research evaluation is notably lacking in controls since the environment is so complex. Fourth, most of the literature on participation and power has been taken from organizations that are not government bureaucracies. The cross application of such principles and literature to government agencies may not be wholly appropriate. Fifth, limitations on various levels of the hierarchy make it impossible to deal conclusively with all sources of influence and participation. There are many bodies within and without the state that influence the making of decisions (legislatures, lobbyists, federal regulations and agencies, etc.). The parameters of the levels of this study, therefore, center around the most direct and formalized chain of command and activity in these areas.

In addition to the limitations of this study, there are some obvious strengths. One is that, while a case study does not have a great deal of internal control, it does have considerable external validity. Thus, the

applicability of the findings of an attempt at action research is much wider than that of a highly controlled, but narrow laboratory design. Second, three different methodologies are brought to bear on the case; participant observation in the case study, a survey instrument, and interviewing. Thus, there are a variety of sources of data from which to cross-check any findings. Finally, this study will examine the workings of a public bureaucracy. Such agencies are important institutions in that they are public servants, and, as such, are eminently concerned with public participation. Despite this importance, and the effects of such bureaucracies on the lives of the public they have not been considered to any great extent in the literature. This study will help remedy that lack.

#### Definition of Terms

Bureaucracy--"All those organizations that are part of the government at one level or another; all employ a considerable number of public servants organized in a certain way to carry out a number of coordinated tasks. . . . a certain kind of formal organization, characterized by complete administrative hierarchy, specialization of skills and tasks, prescribed limits of discretion set forth in a system of rules; impersonal behavior with regard to clientele; and a separation of ownership and control in the sense that the members of the bureaucracy no longer

own the tools or instruments with which they work." (Ed., March, Peabody and Rourke, p. 803).

Control--"To exercise authority or influence over; direct; regulate" (Ed., Morris, 1969, p. 290).

Cooptation--"The process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy determining structure of the organization as a means of averting threats to its stability and existence" (Burke, 1968, p. 391).

Participation--"The modern meaning of participation is social change in the form of power equalization" (C. Stone, 1976).

Power--"Marks the ability of one person or group to influence the behavior of others, that is, to change the probabilities that others will respond in certain ways to specified stimuli. . .one may wish to distinguish between power and influence in terms of this continuum; that is, according to the amount of pressure one is really able to bring to bear on the target of her influence. If only a little bit, one speaks of influencing; if it is a good deal, one speaks of exercising power; and whether it is a little or a great deal is relative to the state of the affairs" (Kahn, Boulding, 1964, p. 103).

### Summary and Outline

In conclusion, this paper will examine issues and practices within the area of participation, particularly



as it relates to the operation of a large government bureaucracy.

To this effect, this study proceeds in the following order: the first chapter presents the problem. The second chapter describes the methodologies used to examine the research question. The third chapter reviews the diverse literature on the subject. The fourth chapter presents a relevant case study. The fifth chapter presents the results of the two remaining methodologies. The sixth and last chapter summarizes the results of the study and presents conclusions and suggestions which the author has drawn from the total study.

## C H A P T E R    T W O

### THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter will review the literature on the subject of participation. Relevant material will be organized into five sections representing five different perspectives on participation. These perspectives are: the political, the organizational, the mechanical, the psychological, and the social-psychological. Each perspective will be analyzed according to: (1) its basic assumptions on the nature of human interaction; (2) its definitions of participation; (3) its strategies for implementing or increasing public participation; and (4) the results of such strategies, definitions and assumptions. In addition there will be a brief review of the literature on the subject of power, as it relates to participation. The chapter will conclude with a summary and analysis of the reviewed literature.

#### Introduction

Participation is defined as "the voluntary act of taking part" (Funk and Wagnall, 1970). A simple definition. It would seem that a review of the literature on such a subject would be equally simple--a notion far from the truth. For the word participation implies an awareness of

alternatives. Alternatives require that decisions be made. And decisions are made by people. The simplicity of this logic is inescapable. It is the incredible variety of settings in which such behavior is deemed appropriate which causes confusion. For the sake of simplicity, this infinity of settings can be broken down into those academic areas which study people, as individuals or groups. Such areas of study as this paper will include are the political, the organizational, the planning or mechanical, the psychological and the social-psychological.

Even so, the definitions and uses of the concept of participation are more complex than this. For besides differences predicated on settings, each field has adapted the term to fit its' conceptualization of the world. In short, there are many different, if not mutually exclusive, working definitions for this word.

This author will review a representative sample from each of these different fields. Table 1 will present a summary of this information. It is hoped that this general approach will give the reader a feeling for the wide diversity within the subject which makes a simple understanding so difficult. It is also hoped that this approach will convince the reader of the necessity of considering this term on a macro-concept level (that quality or qualities which may be generalizable across all perspectives). Such a macro-concept will be presented

TABLE 1

## SUMMARY OF FIVE PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION

PERSPECTIVE	ASSUMPTIONS ON LIFE	DEFINITIONS OF PARTICIPATION	STRATEGIES	OUTCOMES
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Mass democracy</li> <li>-Power blocs</li> <li>-Competition</li> <li>-Capitalism</li> <li>-"Spoils System"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Direct representation of the wishes of the people in governmental decision making</li> <li>-Does not exist anymore</li> <li>-Only participation within power blocs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-None (or)</li> <li>-Individual participation within organizational power blocs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Lower quality decisions</li> <li>-Reduction in democracy</li> <li>-Time demands</li> <li>-Regionalism and self interest</li> </ul>
Organizational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Organizational society</li> <li>-Conflicts between individual and organizational goals</li> <li>-Synergy</li> <li>-Control</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Management technique</li> <li>-Expanded organizational control</li> <li>-Personal ownership of organizational goals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Increase individual information input into decision making</li> <li>-Increase part of members in making decisions</li> <li>-Wider interpretation of human motivators</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Increase ownership of organizational goals by members</li> <li>-Job enrichment</li> <li>-Increased realization of organizational goals</li> </ul>
Mechanical (Technical)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Science is pure</li> <li>-Technology is separate from society or politics</li> <li>-Social technology is needed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Attempt to fulfill organizational or legislative direction</li> <li>-Technique for human planning or management</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Information input into local decision process</li> <li>-Information of public participatory groups</li> <li>-Polling of advisory groups for opinions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Increases non-participation</li> <li>-Reduces public resistance</li> <li>-Small increase in accomplishments of desired projects</li> <li>-Encourage public acceptance of organizational goals</li> <li>-Increase in visibility &amp; public image of agency</li> </ul>

TABLE 1 (continued)

PERSPECTIVE	ASSUMPTIONS ON LIFE	DEFINITIONS OF PARTICIPATION	STRATEGIES	OUTCOMES
Psychological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-World is composed of individuals</li> <li>-Individuals act in groups</li> <li>-People are responsible for the position they are in</li> <li>-Successful involvement is a prerequisite for psychological health</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Self actualization</li> <li>-Mental health</li> <li>-Individuals acting in groups to achieve individual needs through group action</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Personal activism</li> <li>-Positive self concept</li> <li>-Support groups</li> <li>-Human relations training</li> <li>-Assertion training</li> <li>-Therapy</li> <li>-Human potential training</li> <li>-Group encounters</li> <li>-Communes/cooperatives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Increases participation</li> <li>-Somewhat changes organization (cooperation)</li> <li>-Healthy, whole individuals produce a healthy whole society</li> </ul>
Social Psychological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Mass society, power blocs (not individuals) run the world</li> <li>-Resources are inequitably distributed</li> <li>-People do not give up power</li> <li>-Masses are unaware and oppressed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Changing the societal structure</li> <li>-Equalization of power and resources</li> <li>-Masses operate as a political entity, consciously aware of their own oppression</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Consciousness raising</li> <li>-Community cooperation (Collectives &amp; cooperation)</li> <li>-Community development &amp; education</li> <li>-Change social structure</li> <li>-Alternative organization</li> <li>-Political activism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Egalitarian society</li> <li>-Socialist government</li> <li>-Self-respect and mental health for all</li> <li>-Shared resources</li> <li>-Shared decision making in shared goals</li> </ul>



in order to provide a framework within which to examine the study of participation in the public sector presented in a later chapter.

### Five Perspectives on Participation

This section will review five perspectives on participation. Before beginning this review it seems necessary to more clearly define each perspective.

The first perspective is the "political" and includes material by political scientists. The second is "organizational" and examines the work done on organizations mostly from the perspective of the organizational psychologist and writers on business administration. The mechanical perspective deals with the work of planning experts and is so called due to the technical nature of the subject (participation in such a sense is of chief concern as a process to be implemented rather than a philosophical question). The fourth perspective is the psychological and reviews the works of psychologists, therapists and others in the "helping professions." Finally, the social-psychological perspective covers a wide range of authors ranging from sociology through community action and education.

The five perspectives mentioned above and reviewed in the following pages of this chapter are summarized in the form of a chart in Table 1. This table provides a

graphic comparison of these fields on five different points: (1) assumptions concerning the nature of human beings, (2) definitions of participation, (3) strategies for increasing participation, and (4) outcomes of participation strategies. These points are self-explanatory.

### Public Participation: Political Theory

#### Assumptions on the Nature of Wo/man<sup>1</sup>

Assumptions of political theorists on the nature of wo/man can best be seen in their conceptions of societal structure in the United States. Basically, these writers visualize this society as a mass democracy, feeling that representative democracy is no longer possible (Piven, 1968; Kornhauser, 1959; Moynihan, 1970). It is their contention that the practical possibility of individualism and individual representation has been subsumed by the growth of our population. The only possible way these theorists see to adequately maintain a semblance of democracy is to deal with the wishes of the appointed emissaries of such masses of people.

Such emissaries represent distinct groups within the masses. Authors such as Lerner (1957) and Plamentz (1958) define these groups as "power blocs" which run the nation in a system of compromise and competition. Plamentz's hypothesizes that a balance of such competition equally regulates power and allows for maximum freedom for

---

<sup>1</sup>Gender references in this paper will be indicated by the following: wo/man, s/he, her/him, hers/his.

all. Further, he describes three such groups; bureaucracies, elites, and the masses.

Bureaucracies can be described as large, entrenched, organizations which establish norms and speak for the people they represent. Their currency for power is the possession of material resources, the power of establishment and time, and the loyalty of members. Elites comprise a smaller but equally powerful group. Their power is predicated on its desirability and scarcity; education, vast personal wealth or influence, superior knowledge or ability of any sort. In contrast, the last group, the masses is the largest group by number of members. It consists of these people who are not officially connected with the other two groups (by either membership or resources). This groups' only access to power lies in sheer weight of members, and in the inertia or action this can produce. The masses are not seen as being organized or even aware of their own existence. For this reason, their potential is great and lies in awareness and the resulting possibility of joint action.

Basically, the description of the nature of wo/man outlined above is very similar to the notion of the capitalist "spoils" system (Levy, 1965). The assumption is that there are limited amounts of resources (or power) in the world, and that human motivation is inherently based on, or concerned with, the competition over such scarce



resources. Indeed, in a mass society, this competition is seen as the only thing that maintains democracy.

### Definition of Participation

Due to the increase in population resulting in mass democracy, political theorists define participation by the citizen in the past tense (Moynihan, 1970). That is to say, they see participation as the direct representation of the wishes of the citizens in governmental decision making (one person, one vote, etc.). Yet, due to the necessity for a mass democracy, they feel this state of affairs no longer exists and in such a society, is no longer possible (Levy, 1957; Gamson, 1967; Moynihan, 1970).

Thus, the closest approximation a citizen may now make to participation would be membership in one of the power blocs. This membership would clearly place the locus of decision making in the hands of the representatives and leaders of that group, rather than its members. Plamentz agrees and further envisions the role of the citizen as being necessarily passive (1958).

### Strategies for Increasing Public Participation

Since the definition of participation expressed by such political theorists as Lerner (1957), Plamentz (1958), Bachrach (1958), Komhauser (1959), Moynihan (1970), Levy (1965), and Gamson (1967) indicate that it no longer exists,

no strategies, per se, are mentioned. Again, the closest approximation to participation could only be achieved by the citizen through membership in the power blocs.

### Outcomes of Participation Strategies

In light of general perceptions of political writers concerning the history and present status of participation, it is not difficult to discover what they conceive of as its results. Komhauser (1959) feels that if participation is attempted, the efficiency of the competitive system is impaired. Thus, democracy will suffer. Because of the specialization required by vast amounts of information and numbers of people, Sartori (1963), Lipset (1969), Moynihan (1970), Bachrach (1967), suggest that general participation can only result in the lowering the quality of decisions and encouraging regionalism and self-interest. In addition, the inefficiency of vast amounts of time required to make any input, much less a decision, in such a system, renders public participation highly unfeasible in our present society.

### Public Participation: Organizational Theory

#### Assumptions on the Nature of Wo/man

In contrast to the varying power basis of societal interaction espoused by political theorists, organizational

theorists conceive of ours as an "organizational society." That is to say, they see the structure of society revolving around the organizations of which it is composed (Peabody and Rourke, 1963).

From this point of view, power is a commodity distributed within the organization, hierarchically (Feldman and Kanter, 1965). Stated roles of authority carry the means and the ability to distribute resources or power as rewards to satisfactorily performing members. The criterion of performance is usually based on the goals of the organization.

The purpose of the organization itself is to achieve its pre-determined, intrinsic goals, based on the nature of the organization (Peabody and Rourke, 1963; Wood, 1970). Organizational theorists do believe that individuals have personal goals as well, and that these sometimes conflict with the goal of the organization. If the organization is to survive, Felman and Kanter (1965) and Underhill (1975) argue that such conflict must be resolved.

Goal conflicts in and between organizations tend them towards entropy, and so they must constantly be resolved in order to ensure synergy (Mico, 1974). For this reason, such writers as Andrew and Bragg (1973) view control as an integral part of organizations, of society, of people and participation. Personal goals must somehow be brought into line with organizational goals, whether by precedent or cooperation.

## Definition of Participation

In a society which is defined by its organizations, which uses resources as rewards, where control is a key concept and the conflict of personal and organizational goals a truism, the definition of participation is clear. Such writers as Andrews and Bragg (1973) classify it as a management technique to raise organizational control. Their understanding of participation indicates some sharing in the decision making of the organization by management and worker (Feldman and Kanter, 1965). This technique is used to insure personal ownership of organizational goals by members. The rationale behind this is that personal involvement and action lead to internalization of goals by members. Such internalization, states Wood (1970), increases the real accomplishment of such goals.

## Strategies for Increasing Public Participation

Since organizational theorists generally espouse public participation as input into organizational decision making, strategies to implement it revolve around such input (Feldman and Kanter, 1965). The aim is to use information from within and without the organization to accommodate it so that it can survive the environment and resist entropy (McGill and Horton, 1973).

Therefore, the first set of change management strategies focus on the gathering of information.

Individuals are polled and their input is considered in the making of decisions which lead towards organizational goals (Feldman and Kanter, 1965). A second line of strategies used focuses on increasing the actual part members of the organization play in the decision making (again for the purpose of accomplishing organizational goals) (Andrews and Bragg, 1973).

It is important to organizations to increase personal internalization of organizational goals and the above two strategies are escalating expressions of such involvement. Thus, much consideration is given to attempts to increase self growth, actualization and motivation to participate (Peabody and Rourke, 1963 and Underhill, 1975). This particular strategy has recently broadened considerably due to wider interpretations of human motivators, leadership qualities and member roles (Kraus, 1968). In strict, traditionally oriented bureaucratic structures, the interpretation of such factors were quite limited. Indeed, the concept and use of participation were quite limited, making it a relatively modern phenomenon.

## Results

Results of employee participation within organizations are at present considered to be beneficial to both the individual and the organization (Feldman and Kanter, 1965). Andrews and Bragg (1973) state that the wider



interpretation of motivators and roles leads to job enrichment and higher personal satisfaction with the job. Such satisfaction leads to increased ownership of organizational goals by members. In turn, the real focus of the organization is constantly adjusted and achieved (McGill and Horton, 1973), increased realization of organizational goals.

In short, for organizational theorists, public participation resolves the conflict between organization and individual goals.

#### Public Participation: Mechanical (Planning) Theory

##### Assumptions on the Nature of Wo/man

Assumptions of mechanical theorists on the nature of wo/man envision two different components of society. On one hand is the world of subjective society and politics. On the other hand is the objective world of science and technology, pure, practical and completely separate. The occupation of the individual fits the individual into one of these worlds.

Scientists and technicians, according to Burke (1969) should be a-political. Since a social technology is badly needed, this dichotomy will enable the pure discoveries of science to be incorporated into the disorderly lives of the common people. The quality of life will thus be improved by that segment of the population which



Crowfoot and Chesler (1974) call the "political-technical elites." The contamination of a subjective stand is avoided by supplying such technology and information to managers and politicians to help them achieve their legislated (or legitimate) goals (Coperstock, 1974).

#### Definition

Simply put, planners and mechanical theorists see public participation as an attempt to fulfill organizational or legislative directives (Burke, 1969). It is viewed as a technique for human management or planning which developed upon scientific principles of effectiveness (Gardner, 1972). Further, it is administered in the same fashion. In this way, writers such as Meyers (1974) feel that science has benefited society to the extent that orderly discoveries can be used by subjective beings.

#### Strategies for Increasing Public Participation

In many ways, definitions of participation by organizational and mechanical theorists are complimentary. Discoveries of behavioral scientists have led to refinements of techniques to be used in organizations (to accomplish their goals). The direct role of planners then, is to implement these techniques. For this reason, the basis of the organizational and mechanical strategies for participation are also similar.

Mechanical theorists suggest three strategies to facilitate participation by the public. First, the formation of public participatory groups (Edelman, 1971). Commissions, citizen advisory boards or groups are an essential step in focusing energy and support to accomplish tasks (Gardner, 1972).

Secondly, Coperstock (1974) suggests that information from these groups should be actively sought after. Such input should be directly used in local decision-making processes which effect local interests.

Lastly, advisory groups should be polled concerning their opinions on proposed organizational projects which have a wider than local scope (and sometimes for ongoing projects) (Burke, 1969).

It will be noted that such strategies revolve around information input, not decision making itself. For the mechanical theorist, the objectivity of science is best maintained by legitimate, formal decision makers and legislated modes of action on decisions.

#### Outcome of Participation Strategies

Public participation is a technique for human planning and management which attempts to fulfill organizational and legislative directives by planners. This simple definition fosters a number of results.

The formation and support of advisory groups, and the input from such groups satisfies, to some degree, personal needs for influence (Van Dusen, 1969). If this input has any observable impact on decision making by formal decision makers, public satisfaction is even higher. Such activism reduces public resistance to governmental and organizational projects. Indeed, it somewhat increases the likelihood of completing public projects (Burke, 1969). Concrete signs of influence, no matter how small, increase (in addition) the positive public image and visibility of legitimate agencies (Kraus, 1968). Thus, public participation encourages acceptance of organizational goals.

Conversely, the real limitations of information input as a form of influence eventually cause public participants to become disinterested and disillusioned. Eventually they drop out (Coperstock, 1975). Thus, the blockage of the goals of organizations and agencies is prevented by partially acceding to demands for influence by the public. Paradoxically, it can be said that public participation, as defined by mechanical theorists, encourages non-participation (Burke, 1969).

Lastly, public participation in the form of information input does to some degree change the organization (Van Dusen, 1971). Through the process of cooptation, the relative roles of manager/legislator and worker/

public change somewhat while maintaining an equilibrium. In short, public participation enables the organization to adapt to the environment and maintain the status quo by the use of slight variations in its procedure.

### Public Participation: Psychological Theory

#### Assumptions on the Nature of Wo/man

To the writers viewing life from the perspective of the psychologist, the world is composed of individuals. The individual is born, influenced by others, by the environment and proceeds to respond in accordance with the varying pressures. Part of this response is interpretation and choice, some, conditioning. Some responses may be adequate, some may not. When the psychologist focuses on a group of people, an organization, s/he tends to be concerned with the effect of group norms on the individual, for the group is seen as an instance of individuals interacting (Schein, 1969).

In order for individuals alone or in groups to be "psychologically healthy," they must seek not only to respond to environmental forces, but to interpret and alter them as well (Speck and Atneave, 1974; Piaget, Flavell, 1963). Successful response to the environment or successful involvement (leading to some amount of control) by the individual, is healthy (Ellis, 1971; Perls,

1973). People are responsible for the position they are in.

This cycle of the healthy individual can be described in a few words. The state of being human inherently predicates individual needs. The individual takes action to fulfill these needs. If such action is successful (need is fulfilled), feedback from the environment will inform the individual of her success. Success and feedback ultimately lead to feelings of competence which leads to positive self regard (Hampden Turner, 1970; M. Brewster Smith, 1969). The healthy state of positive self regard thus recycles itself back into new needs and begins again (each time more self-sustaining). Thus, the involvement cycle is interpreted by psychologists as a good healthy state.

#### Definition of Participation

Participation, in the language of psychologists, carries a far different description than any of the other fields so far reviewed. The focus here is on the individual and the fulfillment of personal needs rather than goals or organizational objectives (Glidewell, 1970).

In essence, the definition of participation for a psychologist is a step in the process of self-actualization (completeness as a person, of evolutionary possibilities). This is true insofar as the person acts steadily and



successfully to fulfill her individual needs (Freud, 1930; Wollheim, 1971; Adler, 1930; Maslow, 1970; May, 1968).

The further extension of this definition to include public participation is also possible. Individuals act in groups for the purpose of achieving of fulfilling individual needs through group action. This too is part of self-actualization in that the individual recognizes herself as effective in her environment (she is not entirely self-sufficient) and exercises necessary actions to enhance personal power and effect (Adler, 1930; May, 1969).

In a word, whether individually, or through group action, the psychologist's definition of participation equates with mental health.

#### Strategies for Increasing Participation

Strategies for increasing participation used by psychologists are many and varied. The focus does seem to be on building self-concept, and interactional and assertive skills. That is, most psychologists tend to address themselves to areas where personal skills are weak or lacking (as a skill building, developmental or remedial measure) or needs support. Such attempts may be individual, or group directed.

If the person is in need of remedial work, therapy as an individual strategy is often called for (Freud, 1930; Wollheim, 1971). In this one-to-one training, a proactive



orientation towards personal activism is stressed. This is done by developing self-concept to the optimum and re-focusing personal responses to stimuli that call for action (Skinner, 1971; Ellis, 1971).

Very often, the individual cannot afford therapy, is not in need of such direct aid, or rather needs practice in interactional skills. These skills too are finally aimed at a proactive, positive orientation. Methods in this area are more developmental and are usually accomplished through group work. Structured settings for such attempts range from support groups and communes through human potential, human relations, or assertion training (as well as group therapy) (Speck and Atneave, 1974; Perls, 1973).

Attempts by psychologists to increase participation depend on the state of the individual in relation to positive self-concept, assertion and action. Depending on that state, the individual may need remedial therapy or developmental skills training in order to advance to the healthy "good" state of participation.

#### Outcomes of Participation Strategies

The results of participation postulated by psychologists such as Schein (1969), Adler (1930) is that healthy, whole individuals produce a healthy, whole society. This is a simple value statement of fairly linear results. As

Rogers (1965) and Perls (1973), however, would contend, the actions necessary to bring individuals from their present state to this point is often long and involved. The background for this stand can be gleaned from the number and length of models mentioned in the previous section.

### Public Participation: Social-Psychological Theory

#### Assumptions on the Nature of Wo/man

What will be grouped together in this section under the heading of social-psychological theorists are those authors in community development and action, political action, social change and revolution, whose writings conceptualize a similar perspective. Interestingly, these authors combine terms and concepts contained in several sections previously explored. The combination, however, forms a different "gestalt."

Like the politicians, these authors see society based on power (Roberts, 1968). Power blocs, not individuals determine the course of our society. Like the organizationalists, they believe that people do not give up power (Friere, 1969). Like the planners, the social-psychologicalists believe in the technology of planned change, in education (Hahn, 1970). Like the psychologists, they believe that the minds of people can be distorted,

damaged by their environment and made well again, with effort (Friere, 1969; Laing, 1967). The agreement on such phenomena, however, results in different conclusions, just as a set of blocks can make a bridge or a fortress.

The social-psychological authors see the world of power blocs as being inequitably balanced. It is not the equilibrium of these blocs that produces civilization and peace (as was previously suggested in other sections). Rather, a majority of powers, resources and positive self-concept goes to a minority of society in certain blocs (Selznick, 1953; Friere, 1969). Conversely, the majority of people, citizens, the masses, comply with this relationship and remain without resources or influence. Resources are inequitably distributed. On the whole, most social writers propose that the masses (the undifferentiated power bloc) are unaware of their rights, their potential to share in the largesse of the country, of the earth, and are therefore oppressed. They are particularly oppressed because they accept that their difficult life is, "the way its supposed to be" (Hahn, 1970), and that the privileged, by magical right, deserve the resources they enjoy.

To encapsulate this view, the world is composed of two blocs (divisions of people and power) "the haves" and "the have nots." Such a status quo is supported by both groups. The haves (resources and power) capitalize

on their position, give little up (even in equity), run a government which supports this state and contribute to the vision of the status quo as the "correct order" of things (Roberts, 1968). The "have nots," accept, and most often believe, in this conceptualization of life and society.

### Definitions

To the social-psychologicalist, participation is synonymous with changing the social structure (Friere, 1969). Total equalization of power and resources across bloc lines can be visualized, with all people contributing and sharing equally (Clark and Hopkins, 1974; Etzioni, 1974). Concern and continued effort, collectively, for the welfare of all, would be termed "participation." In a more immediate sense (as a median step in arriving at this final state) participation may be defined as the masses of oppressed (non-privileged) people working together (Roberts, 1968) to realize their own oppression and resources (White, 1969). The later part of this act of participation is the operation of the oppressed as a political entity (Wolford, 1974) in the present world of power in opposition to the power elites (Etzioni, 1974). It is through this immediate kind of participation that the other will follow.

## Strategies for Increasing Participation

Strategies for encouraging, ensuring the kind of participation defined above must, by the nature of the philosophy, be educative, positive and community based. Most such strategies focus around generalized activities which will promote social change by encouraging social awareness of issues and ensuing effort.

Activities and efforts such as consciousness raising groups (Wolford, 1974) (whether social, political, etc.), community cooperation (Selznick, 1953) (as expressed in collectives and cooperatives), community development and education (Friere, 1970; Hahn, 1970) are a few.

Other strategies focus more on structural changes in society (Friere, 1970; Etzioni, 1974) (managing a new, non-oppressive environment). These include the changing of present social structures and organizations (Clark and Hopkins, 1964), the development of alternative structures and organizations.

Such strategies as the above are supported and aided on a larger scale (in the currency of present society) through political activism (Clark and Hopkins, 1964; Roberts, 1968). A final strategy, usually flowing from this political activism, is the proposal of the elimination of the elites (in a conclusive, short-term way) (Friere, 1969).



## Results

The vision of society that writers of such an orientation to action and life claim will follow, is a society of total participation (in their terms) (Etzioni, 1974). A logical extension of such a system would be an egalitarian society and social government based on shared resources and shared decision making (Clarke and Hopkins, 1964). On a more psychological level, such a schema is also projected as providing self and other respect (mental health) for all citizens (Friere, 1969; Gamson, 1974).

## Participation and Power

### Introduction

The previous sections on different schools of thought concerning the term "participation" illustrate the diversity of that subject. These sometimes contradictory definitions seem to reflect the very fragmentation and specialization that Phillip Slater (1974) sees in our society.

In the face of this diversity, there does seem to be at least one central concept. Throughout the many definitions, a theme continually surfaces. That theme is power. Kahn describes power as ". . . the ability of Actor a to influence Actor b to do something, which, left to her own devices, Actor b would not do. . ." But while



power is often mentioned, little direct connection is made between it and the definitions of participation.

It is the premise of this author that there is a direct connection between the two terms (participation and power). A brief examination of each school's approach to power should clarify this to some degree. This section will, therefore, first briefly examine authors on power. Similarities and differences will first be highlighted. This will be followed by a more specific examination of each perspective on participation and its relation to these theories of power. Table 2 presents a chart comprising the five perspectives on participation in terms of power.

### Polar Dimensions of Power

Concepts of power held by theorists on power seem to be polar. This polarity is based on the functional view of power as related to either the individual or the society. This examination will address three areas of difference; locus of power, bases of power and the direction of the flow of power.

Differences of opinion concerning the locus of power interpret that locus as either being within the individual (May, 1969; Friere, 1969) or within society (Cortwright, 1958).

TABLE 2

## COMPARISON OF FIVE PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION IN TERMS OF POWER

	LOCUS OF POWER		BASIS OF POWER		POWER STRATEGIES	
	Individual	Society	Material Resources	Personal Resources	(Actee) Individual B	(Actor) Society A
Political		X (bureaucracies, elites)	X		X	
Organizational		X (organizational hierarchy)	X	X	X	X
Mechanical		X (government)	X		X	
Psychological	X			X		X
Social-Psychological	X	X	X	X	X	X

The question of the basis of power split writers' opinions chiefly between regarding material goods (Etzioni, 1969; French and Raven, 1960) or personal attributes (Haire, 1966; Kinkade, 1974) as definitive sources.

It is generally agreed that power strategies were a tool for both the maintenance of resources and for the influence process in change. Disagreement arose over who influenced whom (the direction of power flow). For those authors who saw society as the sole locus of power, the instrument of change was the society at large. The receiver was the individual (Gilman, 1962; Tannenbaum, 1968; Etzioni, 1958). If the locus of power was visualized as being within the individual, the individual was seen as the instrument of change, and the environment as the receiver (Gardner, 1974; Kinkade, 1974).

As previously mentioned the dichotomies above do apply to the internal logic of each school of thought on participation. A brief review will clarify this.

#### Power Within Participation

Political theorists locate power in society, specifically within bureaucratic and elite blocs. The basis of the power these segments of society have proceeds from their possession of resources such as wealth, knowledge, or inertia (the status quo). It is the decisions made by the representaives of such blocs which dictate the part the individual will play within the society. In essence,

radical change or the satisfaction of individual needs is prevented by the loci of power. Adaptation, or gradual accommodation of the individual is the only method of survival within such a setting (Etzioni, 1958).

It goes without saying that to the organizational theorist, the organization and the hierarchy therein is the locus of power. The basis of power is seen predominantly in material resources. But to the extent that the power of the organization is officially dispensed through the authority of members of the hierarchy, it is recognized that some power resides in the individual or subordinate. This power is distinct, though secondary to the weight of organization influence. In line with this rationale, the organization uses its power to influence the individual possessor of fewer resources. Since, however, this process is carried on between individuals, it is accepted that the individual does, to some degree, have the capacity to change or influence the organization (French and Raven, 1960; Kahn, 1964; Tannenbaum, 1968; Gilman, 1962).

The mechanical theorists resemble the political theorists except that they see the government as the funnel of power in society. This power is again based on a massed resources of wealth, bureaucracy and precedent. It is used to regulate the behavior of individual subordinates who form the society (Gardner, 1974).

As a departure from the norm, the psychological theorist, while not denying the weight of society, ultimately places power within the individual. Personal resources and decisions are seen as being the basis of acquiring material resources, and certainly influencing other individuals. Such effect on others is seen, collectively and ultimately, as that which leads to societal change (May, 1976; Kinkade, 1974).

The social-psychological theorists accept a more generally inclusive conception of power. They see both the individual and society as possessing power in sufficient quantity to affectively initiate action. The basis of power, proceeds from within the individual, but realistically, material resources maintain the individual and her power. Finally, such writers see the society as molding the individual, but propose that the "equiordinate" (as opposed to sub- or super-ordinate) individual can clearly use her power (especially collectively) to change society (Chesler and Wordon, 1974; Friere, 1969; Gardner, 1974).

#### Summary on Participation and Power

This section reviews the contributions in the area of participation developed through five perspectives; the political, the organizational, the mechanical, the psychological and the social-psychological. This author

found that variations in these perspectives were dependent on four areas. These areas included assumptions on the nature of wo/man, definitions of participation, strategies for increasing participation, and the expected outcomes of the previous.

Similarities across perspectives hinged mainly on how the audience of participation was defined and interpreted, and where power or authority were located.

The political, organizational and mechanical theorists conceived of society in terms of the "masses." And while the political theorists focused on the "individual," the social-psychological theorists emphasized the individual imbedded in society.

Proponents focused generally on mass society described a hierarchy with authority, power or choice concentrated at the top in a pyrimidal structure. For this reason, those authors argued for participation strategies endorsed by their respective elites and aimed at the general populace. Results were usually in the direction of maintaining the mass identity or status quo.

On the other hand, individually oriented theorists saw influence as potentially being more evenly distributed throughout the population. Strategies and results emphasized the impact of individuals on themselves and other individuals.



The social psychological approach, which seemed to combine points of both schools of thought, emphasized the meaningful impact of individuals on society (in segments and in masses) and vice versa. Strategies, accordingly, were aimed by individuals and groups at each other, and society in general. It will be noted, that while this perspective does make use of all schools, it does not conceive of authority as necessarily being hierarchically based, nor does it project that those who presently control resources will necessarily continue to do so.

#### Analysis on Participation and Power

In the preceding pages, this author reviewed much of the literature on public participation and power. Conclusions on this review deal with the nature of the literature and the relation between the subjects of participation and power.

It will be noted that the literature on public participation reviewed fell under five areas: political, organizational, mechanical, psychological and social-psychological. This alone is an indication of the diversity in opinion this author found represented in such theory. As with most ideas, it seems that those who examine public participation and power tend to think and act in an individualistic manner. This is to say, that they conceive of a model or an idea and proceed to act on it as

though there were no other possibilities. Such mutual exclusivity does not take wide perspectives into account. As previously noted, this author found much of the literature contradictory. The material is thus presented here in a form which highlighted such contradiction.

The last section of this chapter, on power, is an attempt by this author to draw together one of the few unifying threads that ran through the perspectives on public participation. At this point, some diagnoses of this connection seems appropriate.

The view of the nature of wo/man which various perspectives' held seemed directly correlated to who each saw as possessing power. Not surprisingly, such views seem to set up a self-fulfilling chain of events in which strategies executed to promote participation elicit responses from individuals and organizations which fulfilled expectations of results based on world views. The missing link (the point most authors did not make) was in regards to this connection. The point of view one has of the world, of participation and power leads one to carry out strategies that will bring such expectations to fulfillment.

Just so, the kind of participation espoused depended on conceptions of who was capable of influencing whom, by what means, and for how long. Minimal integration of all actors into the decision-making process, in whatever setting, were predicated on the perceived relative lack of power of

a certain portion of the population. Increasing integration of actors in the decision-making process was dependent on perceptions of possession of power by all actors. In this sense, power was conceived of as not merely material, but personal in source as well. Power in this case was seen as a resource which each individual innately possess, and which may or may not become actualized, depending on the actors awareness of her possibilities.

For this reason, this author sees participation as a power-sharing technique. Thus, differences and difficulties in its implementation must necessarily flow from differing perceptions of who possesses it and how its use is to be realized. Never was Don Juan's (Castenadas, 1969) quote more apt, "We are the creators of our own reality."

Perhaps this point needs more clarification. To be specific, no matter what its other dimensions, participation is a means for initiating and implementing social change in our society. It calls for some perceptable change in the power structure, the decision function, of our organizations. Perceptions of the extent to which power structures change would therefore be most validly attained from those whom this change most effects; those who possess the least present power in the hierarchy.

Participation is a change perceived by those affected. They will feel affected if they feel a change in power. If the lower level of the hierarchy does not

feel a change, it may be assumed that any attempt which is going on is not participation, but rhetoric.

For such reasons, it is the thesis of this paper that the locus of control (power) within an organization can be used to measure social change. This is especially true if the amount of social change is viewed as the amount of participation affected in a change effort. To state this point in the form of an hypothesis, which will be further explored in the remainder of this paper:

Individuals will feel that they are active participants in their own governance to the extent that they can influence decisions which affect them.

In referring back to the literature reviewed in this section, it would, therefore, seem that only a few perspectives could be viewed as holding valid definitions of participation. By their own definition, the political, mechanical, and sometimes the organizational theorists do not pretend to significantly equalize power in the hierarchy. Psychological, social-psychological, and occasionally organizational theorists talk in terms of an appreciable change in power relations (in the direction of more equalization).

It is the opinion of this author that actions, not rhetoric define public participation. The test of perceptions of influence must come, in the words of Neeley Gardner (1974) in ". . . programs, policies and feelings. . ." Concrete results are required to indicate whether social change is succeeding.



### Conclusions

Thus far in this paper, this author has reviewed the literature on public participation and power. A diagnosis of these two bodies of information and their connection followed, ending in a hypothesis which will be explored in the remainder of this paper.

In order to do the above, a case study will be described which will include participation, social change, control, and a government bureaucracy. While much study has been done on power and participation in organizations, little has proceeded from governmental bureaucracies. This point is relevant since bureaucracies, prime holders of power due to the centralized state, are engaged in a trend toward participation. It is this author's contention, that in the case to be mentioned, the organization was operating under traditional, hierarchical patterns of power and control. Federal and public pressure had forced that agency into a program of public participation. A further contention is that as long as traditional control structures are operational, simultaneous with a participative effort, a contradiction in terms exists and will provide the basis for a sure failure in the participative model. Again, participation pre-supposes some positive kind of change in the control structure. For this reason, measures of control structure clearly indicate the presence of power and serve as a direct measure of the success of the

change effort. While the literature has supported the various segments of this thesis, it has never completed the connection, and so this paper will set about remedying that lack.



## C H A P T E R     T H R E E

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

This chapter will present the methods by which public participation was examined in this study. It will begin with a restatement of the general hypothesis presented at the end of the last chapter and twelve working hypotheses which will be used to examine the many aspects of this hypothesis and its relation to the case used. A description of the research sites will follow, with additional sections on procedure, subjects, measures used and procedures used to analyze the data. This will be followed by the delimitations of the study. The data collection process and a detailed presentation of the study project will be included in a separate chapter which describes a case study.

#### Note

As a prelude to this section, it should be noted that three methods of evaluation were used. As this was an exploratory and tremendously complex study it was this author's decision that no one method of investigation was adequate. For this reason, a case study, an attitude survey, and interviews were used to test the hypothesis.

### Hypotheses

The general hypothesis of this study is as follows:

Individuals will feel that they are active participants in their own governance, to the extent that they can affect, influence, or make decisions that affect them.

The working hypotheses of this study, as they relate to the general hypothesis and the case study, were:

Perceptions of the locus of highest actual participation in the total organization in decision making (as measured by Tannenbaum's Influence Questionnaire) will be positively related to bureaucratic hierarchical level.

The organization on which this study focuses has a program in public participation. In it, participation is defined as an increased input in decision making by the public. This hypothesis will test whether the program has redistributed such power.

Perceptions of the locus of highest ideal participation in the total organization in decision making (as measured by the Influence Questionnaire) will be negatively related to bureaucratic hierarchical level.

This hypothesis was formulated to test the assumptions of participants on the organization's program, concerning the place of influence in public participation.

Participants will perceive that they actually possess less participation in their organization than they would ideally like to have.

In testing any differences between actual and desired conditions of public participation in this organization, this hypothesis will measure significance. Such a difference

would be both a useful indicator of the success of this program and the relation of influence and power to public participation.

Perceptions of actual influence in decision making (as measured by the Influence Questionnaire) in the Middletown Region, will be positively related to bureaucratic level.

Since the Middletown Region is the site for a pilot participatory program this hypothesis will be used to test whether the participants in the project found it successful. Success would be evidenced by a change in the influence structure of the traditional hierarchy of the organization. Such a change would be in keeping with the stated aim of the program; to increase public input in decision making.

Perceptions of ideal participation in decision making (as measured by the Influence Questionnaire) in the Middletown Region, will be negatively related to bureaucratic level.

This hypothesis was used to test the assumptions of participants in this region concerning the place of influence in public participation.

Participants in the Middletown Region will perceive that they actually have less participation in their organization than they would ideally like to have.

This hypothesis tests the significance of any differences between actual and ideal conditions of public participation in this region.

There will be no difference in the perceptions of actual participation within the organization by region.

This study uses Middletown and three other regions in the organization who are involved in participation efforts in order to form comparisons. This hypothesis tests to see whether experiences in participation are uniform across the organization.

There will be no difference in the perceptions of ideal participation within the organization by region.

This hypothesis tests whether assumptions about the place of influence and power in participation are uniform across the organization.

There will be no difference in perception of differences between actual and ideal participation in the organization, by region.

This hypothesis tests for any significant differences in experience in participation in the different regions which comprise this organization.

Different bureaucratic hierarchical levels will have different perceptions of actual participation in decision making (as measured by Tannenbaum's Influence Questionnaire).

The question which this hypothesis will address is whether there is any relation between perceptions of the success of the influence change and hierarchical level, in this organization.

Different bureaucratic hierarchical levels will have different perceptions of ideal participation in decision making (as measured by the Influence Questionnaire).

Is there any connection between traditional hierarchical roles in this organizational assumptions about

influence in public participation? This is the question this hypothesis will examine.

Participants in differing levels of this organization will perceive different differences between the real and ideal levels of participation each level perceives.

Do different hierarchical levels in this organization agree in their perceptions of the present as well as ideal situation in public participation? This hypothesis tests for any significant differences in such perceptions.

The general hypotheses developed from the literature was tested in the case study. The twelve working hypotheses proceeded from the case itself. This case is described in the following chapter.

### Location

The location of this study is a large bureaucratic agency for public service in an eastern state. A more detailed conceptualization of the agency is presented in Appendix 1. The centralized state office, consists of a Planning and Policy Bureau, and an Implementation Bureau, which is located in Bigtown. The rest of the state is divided into twelve planning regions. Each region houses a professional planning staff (hereafter called Staff or RPA), a planning commission, voluntary and appointed (hereafter called commission or RPC), and a citizens' advisory board, voluntary (hereafter called citizen board or JTC). Since this study deals with policy and planning, not



implementation of projects, the implementation was not included. Of the twelve regions, four were included in this study.

The location and various sites included were chosen for several reasons. First, this agency was included because the author was interested in the operation of large-scale bureaucratic organizations and was invited to take part in an intervention in this one. Secondly, since government bureaucracies are so integral to the life of us all in this centralized system, and since so little of their actual operation has been documented, the subject seemed of general worth and interest. Last, since government bureaucracies are not often willing to give themselves up to public examination, this was a propitious opportunity to gather support and cooperation in the venture.

In the sub-set of the agency, four of the twelve regions were chosen for utilitarian reasons. All twelve were involved in public participation efforts. All were asked to participate. Of these, four responded positively. In addition, the regions themselves presented a wide diversity of experience in the subject and involved sufficient numbers of people to generalize results from.

#### Procedure

This study will consist of two parts: A case study and an analysis of perceptions of control in different



sections of the organization. This analysis will examine levels of control. A comparison of the levels of control in different sections of the organization will also be presented, using the region in which the case study took place, and three other regions engaged in public participation efforts.

Bennis (1968), in an article on the case study, deplored the lack of documented, real life case studies other than reports of "interpersonal" ones. He particularly pleaded for behavioral scientists to document complicated situations that reported something other than model successes. R. K. Rady (1967) supports the validity and generalizability of written reports of process and results of complicated real life situations as opposed to the clinical measured reports of artificial situations too limited to generalize into guidelines for successful intervention.

How I wish our case studies would capture and chronicle the detailed processes of the changes we seek and often observe. . . the reason we require 'control groups' in experimental science is that the processes presumably go on in the famous Black Box. We can only ascertain the input and measure the output. But where is it possible to observe the through put--the process--then the need for the crude experimental model is bypassed. This represents the true potentiality of. . . case studies capable of influencing theoretical developments (Bennis, 1967).

Further, R. Walton (1972) and B. Glasser and A. Strauss (1967) make the point that cases should be done by participants of the case since they have perceptions and knowledge that an outside consultant or observer cannot

hope to achieve. Ready suggests controls to reduce the inevitable bias of such reports; the author should present the case for analysis to an outside party and then incorporate this third party diagnosis into her/his analyses. He suggests that the superior case study separates description and analysis for this reason. Henderson supplements this by describing three elements of a good case based on description. Kinds of description called for were: (1) bare observations of bare facts "uncolored by theories or presupposition and condensed to the very limit of possible condensation"; (2) single observations; and (3) uniformities observed throughout the study.

For these reasons, this author chose to record the events of this intervention. This was done by keeping a running record of events, process, perceptions upon the conclusion of every contact between the author and any level of the hierarchy. An anecdotal diary was developed. The events of the case study document the interactions of the various levels of the agency and one particular region in an effort to implement and improve on a new process method for public participation. Interactions observed in the collection of data were recorded. If these observations seemed directly related to the explanation of the workings of this agency.

The attitude survey consisted of a measurement of control (Tannenbaum's control questionnaire and graph) and

interviews of key informants. These measures were administered to each level of the agency, including four planning regions of which the subject of the case study was one. Such measures were given to test the general hypothesis mentioned at the conclusion of the second chapter and in the beginning of this chapter.

### Description of the Sample

Subjects were selected from each level of the agency hierarchy (refer to Appendix 1). In the central level (state office) the questionnaire was administered to approximately ten of the fifteen officers. These officers included state planners and coordinators, state liaison officers, and agency administrators. All contributed to the general coordinated policy and planning necessary at the state level. Of these officers, three were interviewed on tape. These included two chief administrators and one planner, all of whom were instrumental in public participation matters and familiar or instrumental in the operations of the case study region.

At the regional level, there were three sub-groups: the professional regional planners (the numbers varying in each region), the appointed voluntary members of the planning commissions (usually about 20), and the members of the citizen advisory groups (voluntary) interested citizens on a committee/board of the planning commission (usually about 30).

In each region, the chief planner and one planner assigned to facilitate participation were both given questionnaires and interviewed. In three of the four commissions, the questionnaire was given to all members and the chairperson was interviewed. The same was true of the advisory board.

In summary, the number of subjects in the attitude survey sample were 148. The number of subjects in the taped interview sample was 17.

### Measures

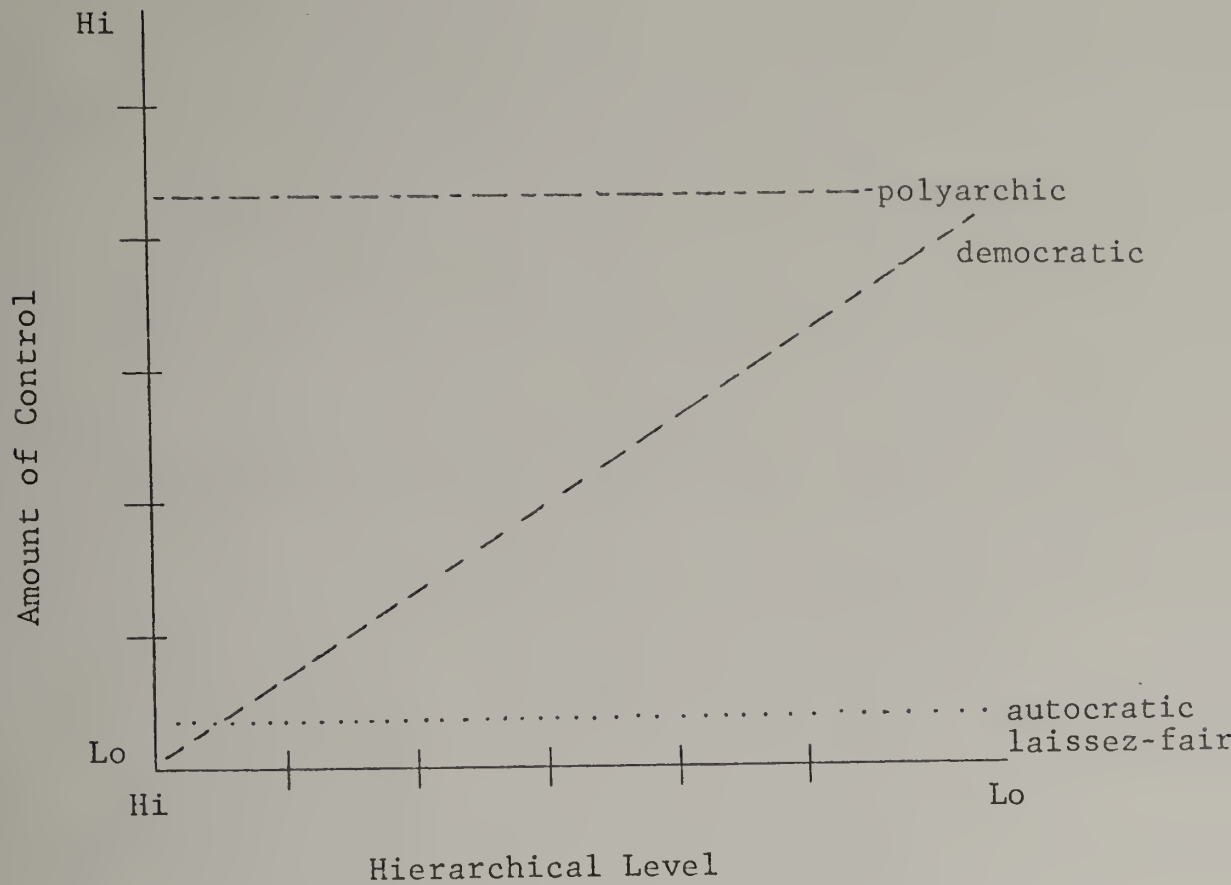
As previously mentioned, measures included Tannenbaum's control questionnaire and graph and a taped interview.

### Questionnaire

An adapted version of Tannenbaum's questionnaire was given to all subjects in the sample study. Tannenbaum's (1968) control graph (Figure 1) and questionnaire (Appendix 2) were used as a measure of perceptions of control on the part of people within this particular organization. It consists of two sets of scores concerning perceptions of power about each level of the organization hierarchy (levels in this case being named; the state agency, regional commissions, regional staff, and citizen boards). Both sets of scores consist of a five-point Likert scale: "one" representing the least possible influence; and "five" representing the most possible influence.

Figure 1

Tannenbaum's Control Graph:  
Prototypes of Control



The first set of scores deals with the individual perceptions of the real situation. The second set of scores deals with perceptions of an ideal situation. This questionnaire was administered to all levels of the hierarchy.

Interpretations of the data will be concerned with perceptions of the power of each level of the hierarchy, by different levels. These findings will be compared; real with real, ideal with ideal, and real with ideal. Results will be analyzed by mean score, and then scores of involved regions and levels of the hierarchy will be cross-tabulated in order to see if any variations in the perceptions of organization control occurred across these levels of the hierarchy, or across geographical regions. Multiple analyses of variance (two and three way) were used to isolate significant differences and a test of regression was used to test the slopes of the various relevant control graph for significant differences and interaction effects.

High scores for control on high levels of the hierarchy and low scores for low levels indicate a typical bureaucratic hierarchy, with little public participation in decision making. Scores were placed on a control graph. In this graph, the vertical axis represents the amount of control decisions, policies, and actions of the organization exercised by each level of the hierarchy. The horizontal axis represents the hierarchical levels from high to low,



in the organization. This graph will help to illustrate two aspects of control in organization:

. . .the distribution of control, i.e., who or what hierarchically defined groups exercise control over the affairs of the organization, and the total amount of control, i.e., how much control is exercised within the organization, from all sources. The first is represented by the slope of the curve the second by its average height (Tannenbaum, 1968, p. 33).

Thus, the curve varies, depending on how much power is exercised by each of the hierarchical groups. Many curves are possible and the following help illustrated a few prototypes: (refer to Figure 1)

1. The democratic model (B). This is a curve which rises as it goes down the hierarchy. Groups at lower levels have more power than those at higher levels.
2. The autocratic model (A). This is a curve which falls (control decreases) as one goes down the hierarchy.
3. The polyarchic model (X). This curve remains high (control is high) for all hierarchical groups. All hierarchical groups have important influence in this type of organization.
4. The laissez-faire model (C). This curve remains low at all hierarchical levels. No one exercises much control (Tannenbaum, 1968, p. 32).

### Interviews

The taped interviews were semi-structured. Subjects were asked three open-ended questions (See Appendix 2 and 3) dealing with public participation, 3-C planning (a participation process used in the state), and control within

the organization. Each topic had a list of aspects beneath on the interview sheet. As the interviewee elaborated on that aspect, the interviewer checked the aspect off the list. Aspects not mentioned in the course of conversations were raised directly by the interviewer. These interviews were administered by the author at the place of business of each of the selected subjects on a business day chosen by them. They taped interviews were scored by this author and by an independent scorer who had no interview experience with public participation, the agency, or the case study. Analysis of the taped interviews included five aspects.

First, the interviewees rank and region were recorded by the scorer. Then any definitions of real and ideal participation were recorded. Statements clearly connecting or rejecting power as an element of public participation were recorded. Any answers to inquiries concerning the locus of decision making in the organization were recorded. And, finally, evaluation of the present status or 3-C or public participation in this organization were recorded. This author then systematically presented the information gathered in a chart from the patterns which evolved from the above information. In addition, quotations explaining points made in the chart above were recorded and are presented as verbatim transcripts.

### Delimitations of the Study

There are five important limitations inherent in the design of this study. First, this is a single, post hoc case study. As such, it is difficult to predict the level of generalization of its findings to other cases. Second, the person describing the case and directing the evaluation of the study was a member of the intervention team. Such participant observation may, to some degree, jeopardize the objectivity of this study. Third, the instruments used are attitudinal and consist of one questionnaire which will be supplemented by interview. Such action research evaluation is notably lacking in controls since the environment is so complex. Fourth, most of the literature on public participation and power has not been taken from organizations that were governmental bureaucracies. The cross application of such principles and literature to government agencies may not be wholly appropriate. Fifth, limitations on various levels of the hierarchy make it impossible to deal conclusively with all sources of influence and participation. There are many bodies within and without the state that influence the making of decisions (legislatures, lobbyists, federal regulations, agencies, etc.). The parameters of all levels have, therefore, centered around the most direct and formalized chain of activity in these areas.

In addition to the limitation of this study, there are some obvious strengths. One is that, while a case study does not have a great deal of internal control, it does have considerable external validity. Thus, the applicability of the findings of an attempt at action research is much wider than that of a highly controlled, but narrow, laboratory design.

The second strength is connected to this and previously mentioned in this methodology. An internal reporter is privy to valuable information and perceptions which are inassessible to an external observer. Third, the very diversity of applicable literature in the fields using public participation will do much to break rigidified definitions of that process, thereby giving a fresh and detailed examination of the many aspects involved. Fourth, three different data collection strategies were brought to bear on this case; participant observation, a survey instrument, and supplementary interviewing. Thus, there will be a variety of sources of data from which to cross check any findings. Finally, this study will examine the workings of a public bureaucracy. Such agencies are important institutions in that they are based on the concept of serving the public. In theory they are public servants and, as such, would seem to be eminently concerned with public participation. Despite this importance, and the effort of such bureaucracies on the lives of the public.

they have not been considered much in the literature. This study will help to remedy that lack.

### Summary

The preceding pages of this chapter have described the methods used to explore the hypothesis and to evaluate the information gained in this exploration. Succeeding chapters will present this information in detail.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CASE STUDY

#### Introduction

This chapter will present a case study in which this author took part as a backdrop against which to examine the general hypothesis of this paper.

The study begins with a description of the organization itself, and a description of participating members. Events which took place during the time period of this study are briefly described. This time period is then foreshortened into meaningful segments and restated in the form of a summary of events. The chapter closes with a summary of the case itself, verbatim transcripts collected from significant actors in the case in which they summarize the events of the case from their perspective, and an analysis of the case in regard to the hypothesis of this paper.

#### The Actors

##### Introducing the Agency

A major state department was the central focus of this study and is one of the agencies in its state's



bureaucracy. It is in charge of planning and building transportation facilities and other related services in the state. It was created in the beginning of the twentieth century, and since then population and organizational complexity have increased to the point that, for the last 50 years, the department has had unilateral responsibility and total financial discretion over state and most federal funds, for any projects in the state which fall under its jurisdiction.

On the state level, it is headed by an appointed position. The department itself is composed of two sections; the Planning and Project Section and the Engineering Section. Both of these consist of planners and engineers. This study deals mainly with the Planning Section which was most directly connected with the following events.

At the time of this study, the agency was in the throes of dealing with new federal regulations that had mandated public participation in decision making (Federal Transportation Act of 1962). This mandate connected the agency and the public in three areas: information sharing, public involvement in decision making, and feedback to and by the public. These required events were not typical relationships for the department and its constituencies, for its chief concerns had been such practical matters as engineering efficiency, financial feasibility and political savoir faire.

In the light of previous behavior, one might ask what had prompted the department to change. The Federal law had been on the books for ten years, and by now had filtered down to the state level for implementation. Federal funds were made contingent on the use of such procedures. In addition, the department had found itself involved in lengthy litigation with private parties who had not been involved in decisions on matters which effected them. Projects which had violated personal property rights, environmental issues and issues of community concern generated constant friction for the Agency. All these sources contributed to the intense pressure to change.

### Introducing the Team

The Impact Assessment Team (IAT) had been hired by the Commissioner of the Agency after the Chief Investigator for the team had proposed a program to the Agency in the spring of 1974. The program had fit the Commissioners' need for an assessment team (one which could assess and fill needs in relation to projects).

The team itself was composed of three hierarchical levels and two sections. It was headed by a Chief Investigator (the proposal writer and a faculty member); his assistant, the Program Manager (planner and manager); and staffed by 13-15 part-time graduate students. These students were divided into the Environmental Impact Report

group (10+ members) and the Participation Project Group (3-5 members). These two groups were aware, in a general way, of each others work but on the whole operated independently. In the last month of the project, a coordinator was hired along with an extra student for the Participation Projection Group. This study will dwell on the role of the Project group.

The commissioner had previously tried to deal with the implementation of public participation in projects by hiring a consultant. This venture had failed. Both the Commissioner and the Agency felt that this was due to the fact that the focus had mistakenly been put on technical information (the engineering model of planning). They felt that other aspects of the interaction between a technical agency and its' public had to be addressed. Issues such as decision making, human relations, leadership training, etc., appeared necessary and relevant. It had further been decided that future projects would integrate a new planning procedure which used public participation to this end. The IAT was hired to research and trouble-shoot difficulties in the beginning phases of the new project structure. It would perform this function for all levels of the hierarchy, and collect, research and disseminate new supporting information as well. This was to be done in cooperation with

the Agency. To the Agency, the format of the IAT seemed ideal in that it was composed of consultants from various concerned disciplines who would work together to arrive at a final plan. This notion of interdisciplinary cooperation was also outlined by the Federal Commission, and was specifically mentioned in the law which had instigated the whole movement, the Federal Transportation Act of 1962.

The IAT saw the problem of the study as the implementation of responsible planning. Responsible planning, among other things, constituted presenting the social, economic and ecological impacts of projects to the public for perusal, and ultimately, for decision making. This implied community participation in decision making. Operationally, for the team it meant working with local groups of interested volunteers (these groups had already been recently formed by the Agency). This work would consist of helping set up a process to facilitate information and decisions for participatory groups and the rest of the organization. In order to ensure that these processes became self-perpetuating, the team would also engage in skills training appropriate to an effective participatory group (planning, goal setting, prioritization, use of information, problem solving, decision making, meeting skills, etc.). To aid in this skill

training, specialists in Sociology, Economics, Planning, Ecology, and Human Relations was selected to research and relate information for these groups.

Anticipated results of such efforts included the hope of citizen input consisting of better, more informed decisions to the Agency. It was also hoped that such participation would raise popular commitment to the task of the Agency, and lower resistance so that energy could be spent on mutually constructive goals.

This Project team role continually developed throughout the course of the study (as is the case in any intervention). The initial mission assigned the team was to prepare a selected region for the implementation of the new planning process. When this preparation was complete, the IAT was responsible for implementing the first stage of that process which consisted of inclusion and training of the public in goal and priority setting.

### Introducing the Region

The government of the state, and the Agency have, for the sake of convenience, divided the state into 14 regions (administrative and planning, not legal). As of 1974, the agency was involved with all of these regions in a number of different attempts to implement public participation (See Appendix I). The structural basis for this was the addition of a subcommittee of citizens, the



Joint Transportation Committee or Citizen Board to an existing, publicly appointed, Planning Commission. This Planning Commission helped direct the efforts of the professional planners housed in each of the regional offices. The JTC was to be the vehicle through which interested citizens would participate and feed their ideas and opinions into the decision making of the region and state. The general process for implementing this as a structure and process was termed 3-C (from the text of the 1962 Federal Transportation Act: Continuing, Comprehensive, and Cooperative). The particulars of implementation of this were more or less unique to each region, depending on the region and the personality of the planners.

The relationship of the Agency to the region is one of a loosely knit bureaucratic hierarchy, in many ways, an interorganizational organization (Mico, 1974). Each region is allocated a certain amount of the state and federal funds given to the Agency. They must match these and/or get funding directly from the federal agencies. Funds are contracted each year upon receipt of a regional proposal. Decisions of allocation seem to be based on need, request, length of request, politics, and chance. Agency decisions have often been influenced by the political weight of the regional representative in the state legislature.

The Middletown area, target of this project, north of Midville, is a mid-state, largely rural region (although it does have two moderately large cities). It consists of 22 towns altogether. The Agency chose this region as the focus of the IAT criterion that it was the single most outstanding examples of poor implementation of public participation in the state.

#### Review of Relevant Organizational Bodies

To summarize, the following list will organize the groups mentioned above (as well as their initials):

##### A. Agency

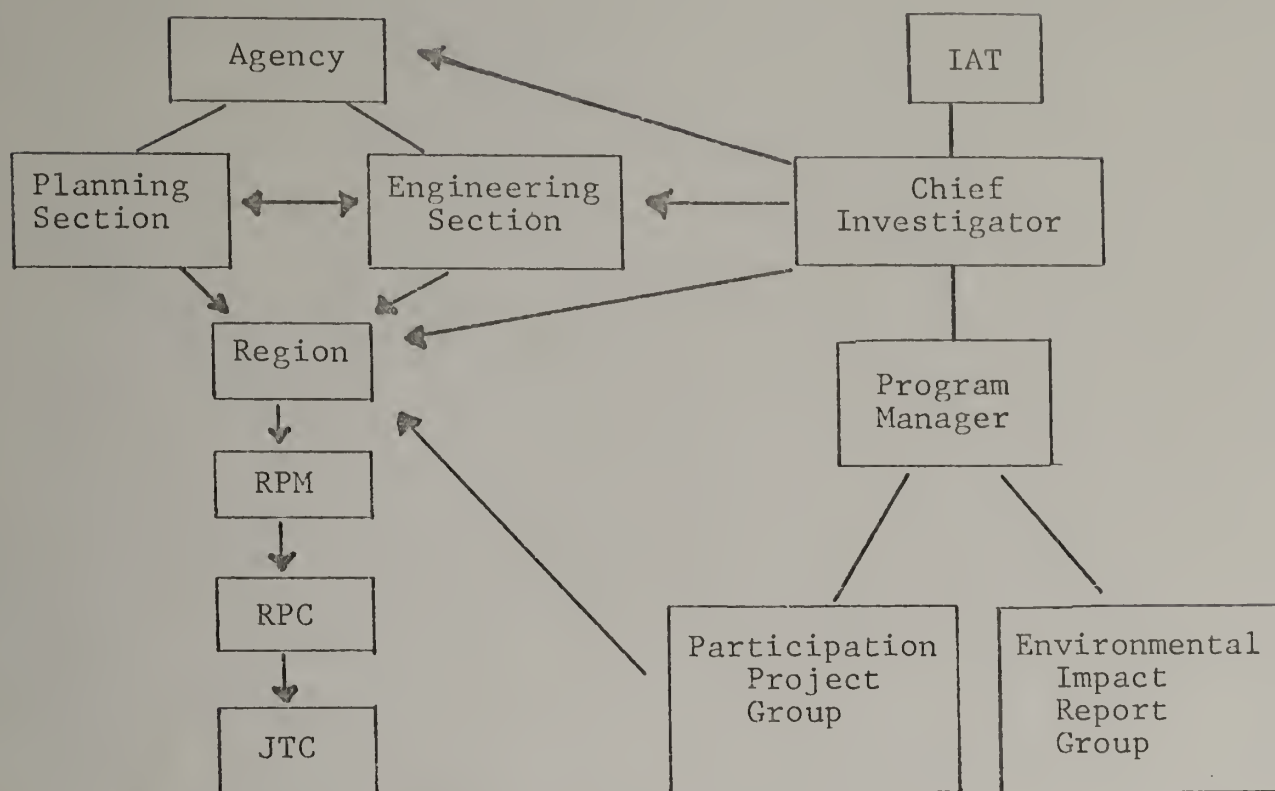
1. Engineering Section
2. Bureau of Transportation Planning (BTP)
  - a. Region
    1. Regional Planning Authority (RPA)  
or Planners
    2. Regional Planning Commission (RPC)  
or Commission
    3. Joint Transportation Committee (JTC)  
or citizens board

##### B. Impact Assessment Team (IAT)

1. Chief Investigator
2. Program Manager
3. Environmental Impact Report Group (EIR)
4. Participation Project Group (PPG)  
or Group or Team (see Table 3)

These groups were all involved in the case study which follows. They will be referred to in the manner listed above.

TABLE 3  
STRUCTURE OF THE AGENCY AND THE PROJECT



### The Case

The events in this case include all meetings between the relevant actors (listed above) and the Impact Assessment Team. Any additional major activities of the Team will also be recorded. This information will be presented chronologically.

### Meetings

#### May 1974-August 1974

Members of the Impact Assessment and Project Teams were hired. Time through August was spent in team development by the program manager and the members, and an individual review by each member, of the 3-C Process Documents and the Impact Assessment guidelines for the nation and the state.

#### August 21, 1974

In an initial meeting at the Boston office of the Agency, O'Neil (director of the Bureau of Planning), one representative each of two federal agencies, the director of the Middletown Regional Planning Authority (Schmidt); and the Chief Investigator, Program Manager, representatives of the Impact Team, and of the Project Team were present. In this meeting, all related actors of the study were brought together for the first time. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss generally the role of the Team in developing a pilot program for the Regional Planning

Study Project (RPS) of the Agency. Discussion took place mainly between the director, federal representatives, and the chief investigator. It was decided that public participation was not functioning as planned in the state and that the Agency (as a whole) and regions (this one in particular) had developed a poor public image in the area of public participation. Group decision making processes and problems in communications between various levels of the hierarchy were identified as the major problem areas. The team's general directive was to undertake to solve these problems by researching the problem and its component parts and applying available information in the form of written reports to the State office and the region. This included the critiquing of (1) current projects, (2) public meetings, and (3) communication sharing in light of the newly established federal and state guidelines on public participation (called (3-C")). In addition, a model project, using the state guidelines was to be implemented in a region in the state (Middletown) using all such new information and addressing the problems previously mentioned. The process of this project was undertaken by cooperative effort between the State, the Middletown region, and the team. Regular information and reports on the status of ongoing efforts were to be submitted to all by each. The product of this project was hopefully to

be a tested, step-by-step manual, on the implementation of public participation in a region relating to the state. It was hoped that this manual would provide a mechanism for the continuation of such improvement in the state and would provide in-house capability. The representatives of the state agency agreed to act in the role of information coordinator, keeping all levels informed of activities, feedback, problems, decisions, etc. This was to be accomplished in reports and in a weekly joint feedback session which only one representative of each group was to attend (for the Team this was the program manager). It was agreed that the Team would give feedback as contracted, and that the state level of the DPW would ask for and work with, such feedback. In the course of this conversation, the regional director (John Schmidt) who was seated between a state and federal official, did not speak. He had been apprised the day before that his presence was required at the meeting. It was later found that he had not been informed of the content of the meeting or the possibility of a project, using his region.

#### August 27

The study team (both groups, the investigator and the manager) as well as state representative of the Agency held a meeting to clarify tasks required of the Team, the general roles of all parties, and the general relation



of both teams. This was held in Littleton (the University town). Goals of the August 21 meeting were restated, the coordination of all members was stressed and it was decided that the role of investigator and manager would be to assume responsibility in maintaining such coordination. The notion of weekly meeting was discarded due to the random schedules of the 20-odd members of the Team, but meetings of work-related members were established on a weekly basis and continued for the duration of the project. A weekly evening class (headed by the program manager) was instituted to deal with relevant aspects of planning.

#### August 28

A meeting was arranged at the Middletown regional office and attended by all members present at the August 21 meeting with the addition of Pat O'Harahan of the Agency and three Middletown planners. The Environmental Impact members did not attend. By this time, the regional director, John Schmidt, was aware of the general outlines and purpose of the study. He chaired the meeting in which information between state and regional levels concerning the project were shared. John and his planners reviewed their staff, their responsibilities, and activities, and the facilities the region contained. The extensive environmental studies already done within the region (by the staff) and a short overview of the personality, physical makeup, and mode of interaction within the region was also

discussed. O'Neill and Flaherty of the Agency gave a detailed review of a systems planning process flow diagram, and an activities-participation matrix relevant to this study and the RPSP (Regional Planning Study Project). Time completion slated for the RPSP study was two years. The meeting ended with a date (August 30) being set for Schmidt, Flabirty, O'Hanahan, Miller (State representatives), Coppot (team representative) and Finck (Regional Representative) to meet in Bigtown to further clarify these plans and documents. Later the Project Team collected significant regional documents and study maps which had been offered by Schmidt and his staff.

#### August 30

The group mentioned above met in Bigtown. Agreement and clarification was reached on system planning process in transportation, as well as that particular part of the plan which would involve the project in Middletown. The regional director (Schmidt) agreed to accept this project, the terms were that the regional commission and planning committee would play the major role in accomplishing the task. The Project Team's role would be to develop approaches and assist the commission and JTC (a public participatory committee) in implementing these approaches effectively in line with the first phase of the new systems planning process, called RPSP.

Systems planning was divided into three major phases: Phase I, definition of regional, economic, social, environmental and land use policies; Phase II, sub-regional transportation planning; Phase III, project selection and prioritization. Considerable discussion took place around Phase I. The objectives for this finally agreed upon were: definition of broad regional economic, social, environmental and land use concerns, definition of state and regional land use goals, objectives and policies (including present projects, as appropriate), formulation of a regional "overview statement" to describe the existing situation in terms of concerns and policies previously established, forecasting of alternate futures using the overview statement as a reference. This would assess probable efforts of various assumed changes in policies, based on the above. Regional preferences and priorities would be defined which would form the basis for developing regional goals, objectives and policies. These, in turn, would establish the context for transportation and other functional planning. It was agreed by all parties that the entire process would take two years. The initial phase, which would primarily concern the Project Team, and would require approximately six months to accomplish.

The draft of the process flow chart was reviewed in terms of the above approach and changes were reviewed.

This was also done for Phases II and III.

The same group made plans to meet on September 4 in Middletown to complete the corrections in the diagram. The Team staff was requested to be presented in order to describe possible approaches and techniques they might use. Two additional meetings were also scheduled; September 9, to finalize the draft for a September 17 report to the Middletown Regional Planning Commission (by John Schmidt). If all went well, the proposal and draft would be given for review to the RPC directors. In addition, since this was a pilot study, the process model would be open to continuous review during the project for purposes of arriving at a model matrix.

September 9, 1974

The same group as the last meeting again gathered to complete modifications on the process diagram (of the 3-phase process) and, in particular, they delineated and agreed upon the exact process steps to be taken in Phase I, and agreed upon the terms of the working contract. All participants agreed on the importance and feasibility of gathering objectives, comprehensive goals, values and policies from the region and its people in order to do any kind of planning--transportation or otherwise. Therefore, they all recognized the indispensibility of Phase I (quite different from traditional planning which was upper management-decision oriented).

Most concretely, all present concurred on the importance of including both voluntary bodies in the region (RPC and JTC) in gathering the above mentioned objectives and other information. Since the information learned from this project study would be immediately implemented in a Phase I form to all other regions within the state, it was important for the general program of Phase I to be flexible enough to be designed and adapted to the specific situation in which it would be conducted. For this reason, it was agreed that the Project Team would immediately begin to embark on a pre-project data gathering in the region in preparation for the program's start. This would contribute to a regional profile which could be used to adapt a successful program to the personality of this region.

As for the duties of the Team, while the larger financial contract had already been awarded, exact terms and expectations had not been completely settled. For this reason, the Program Manager pressed for clarification and settlement of work expectations, particularly in regard to the Team would play in Phase I of the demonstration project. There seemed to be general agreement with the role described in the three previous meetings, but all parts of that contract had to be settled in Bigtown, and so a formal closing was postponed.



Since it was agreed that Phase I was an important addition to the planning process, and that the role of the Agency, Team, and the region were congruent, it was now necessary for the region to prepare a contract with the state. The Agency had paid the Team, settled on the project, and must now contract to give this region enough money to finance time taken from present duties to work on this project. The Program Manager offered the aid of the Team, to the regional planners in preparing contracts to implement those aspects of the region's plan which would be relevant to the Team contract items.

September 9, 1974

On Monday, September 9, the Team Project Group attended its first JTC Citizen Board meeting on the premise that it would be introduced to the members as had been previously discussed with the regional planners (in fact, earlier in the day). On arrival, it was found that the planner (Schmidt) did not want to officially introduce the team as yet. As a result, the team remained as observers of the meeting. General observations recorded were that: (1) there was much interest in public transit; (2) that the meeting was formally, and perhaps rigidly structures (physically and in terms of process); (3) that attendance and interest were low; (4) that planners dominated and set the agenda; (5) that most of



the members present were appointed representatives from local business, the general public not being well represented; (6) that there seemed to be less regional interest and more town-oriented concern; and (7) that the chair-people were very vocal and forthright and seemed well liked by their members.

Prior to this meeting, Joe Bellini (the regional transportation planner for public participation) met with the Project Team and informally discussed issues of the project. Since he felt that the program would place greater demands on his and the MRPA's time, he expressed a desire for more resource support from the Agency. He also expressed strong personal reservations regarding the usefulness or possibility of public involvement in decision making.

#### September 14, 1974

Members of the Project Team visited the RPC. Planners were greeted, additional information was exchanged about the general description of the project, and descriptive discussions of various aspects of the region took place. Several planners donated reports which they had compiled on regional information to the Team.

#### September 17, 1974

The Project Team had not been invited to the previous several meetings concerned with the planning matrix

and contract, and were unaware of its precise details and disagreements. Direction given by the Program Manager (who had been present) were to begin a review of the literature of public participation, take all preparatory steps necessary to the launching of a Phase I program, and to begin the initial planning of such a program. To this end, the Team formed criterion for data collection on the region, and to begin this collection. Reports on regional character were collected from census figures to slide shows and interested organizations in the region. To this point, the Team as observers, attended a public meeting between the Agency and local residents over the operationalization of a highly controversial transportation project. The meeting was publicized, held, and chaired by the local JTC. Observations recorded by the team led to the conclusions that the meeting ended on a note of dissatisfaction for all present. The members of JTC chairing the meeting were unaccustomed to dealing with large public meetings and/or conflict. Order was not observed, speakers reacted simultaneously, verbal abuses were standard. The chairman expressed his discomfort several times. Representatives of the Agency presented their plan in professional jargon, used barely visible or audible media, did not respond to the questions of the group to the group's satisfaction, and occasionally entered verbal assaults. The people had prepared extensive

documents on the pros and cons of the subject. Few had the time to present their findings. The meeting ended with disgruntled citizens shouting comments to the effect that they had known they would not be listened to, and that the decision had already been made in Bigtown.

### September 30

A lunch engagement was set as the stage for an initial mutual introduction between the Project Team and the chairpeople of the local participatory transportation group (JTC). In a last minute addition, the chairman of the more general regional participatory group (RPC) joined the group. The team made general introductions, briefly described the project, federal laws, 3-C planning, and skills the team possessed which they thought might be of some use to the JTC. After stressing the cooperative nature of such a project, team members requested some ascertainment of interest/energy for the directions and efforts of the project by the JTC, since it mostly concerned their day-to-day operations. Reactions by chairpeople were extremely positive. They saw a need for increased community participation, wanted a real part in regional and state decision making (which they did not feel they had), wanted to see total organizational cooperation, and felt a strong need of instruction and support in achieving this. The chairman of the RPC agreed with these

interests and concerns, but expressed some concerns of his own. He questioned whether the money the state would spend on such a project would be subtracted from funds needed by the region for transportation development. He was also concerned about adequate regional supervision of the team. This meeting ended with the scheduling of another, in which to discuss the issues further and to begin to clarify the role of the Project Team in relation to the JTC.

October 4, 1974

On October 4, Mary Jones, Mike Granetti (chairpeople of the JTC), Frank Smith (chairman of the RPC) and the Project Team met again as arranged. An additional member was present--Joll Bellini--the transportation participation planner from the Middletown RPA. He had been invited in order to maintain open lines of communication (though there were bad feelings between the chairpeople and him, due to his actions in his role as planner). The meeting was more structured, with an agenda (which was covered), than the first meeting. Results seemed to take the form of growing understanding of the outline and purpose of the project on the part of the chairpeople as well as an increased sharing of the needs they foresaw the team as being useful in helping to fulfill. An increase in community recognition and support, the feasibility of regionalism in planning, and two-way communication between

JTC, RPC, and Agency were voiced as needs. Helpful projects to fill these needs included the preparation of an information booklet on the region, planning commission, and JTC, training in group leadership skills for the JTC and RPC, as well as training in meeting procedures and conflict resolution. In return for such services, the members were eager to gather helpers and coordinators for any such project, and to be a leading and responsible force in planning, design, and implementation. With one exception, the relation between the Team, the JTC, and the RPC chairpeople seemed to be developing in a positive and help-oriented way; on several occasions, Joe Bellini, the planner, expressed his doubts about the efficacy of public participation in general; and this project in particular.

October 11, 1974

The same group that were present at the last meeting met again to begin some initial education and planning for needs expressed in the last meeting. Results ended in clarification of roles at this level. The Team group presented an explanation of federal and state policies that affected the JTC and the 3-C planning process. An overview of the Project was also presented in the form of a flow chart. This was as well received as it was organized and informative. All members present (including



Bellini) seemed very positive. The team clearly stated its role as helper/consultant, not director. Many doubts and hopes on the subject were shared in an atmosphere of open communication and constructive criticism. A team feeling was developing. A yet unsettled matter was the position of the JTC in relation to the RPC, RPA, and Agency. The JTC wanted to have more real power and greater recognition from the staffs. In order to do this, they felt they needed more information and assistance from the RPA, which they felt was being deliberately withheld from them at this time.

October 14, 1974

The Project Group again attended the monthly JTC (citizen board) meeting, again with the expectation that they and their project would be introduced. This did not occur. While the chairpeople of the JTC wanted this, the RPA (planners) did not. Since the RPA controlled the agenda, the team remained as observers. Meeting process was much the same as the meeting of September 9. In addition, the chairpeople and several members expressed dissatisfaction with what they perceived as the coercive leadership style of the planners in the arrangement of the meeting and its agenda.

October 21, 1974

In this meeting between the JTC chairpeople and the Project Group, it was agreed that this was the last meeting to be spent in data gathering, role definitions, and initial education at this level of the hierarchy. Succeeding steps would be mutual movement in the development of a project. Members of the Project Team completed a review of the 3-C planning process until all were satisfied with their level of understanding.

Members of the JTC reiterated their perception of their committee as a rubber stamp organization, an extension of the RPA (planners) and Agency (state) rather than as a forum for public opinion. They expressed belief that the community agreed with this perception (if it was aware of them at all) and responded to them as if they had no power, very often refusing to become involved or to take their decisions seriously. This was felt to be equally true of the RPC (commission), RPA (planners), and Agency (state).

Despite these negative feelings, the members present emphasized their own optimism, energy, and commitment to public participation through the JTC, and a willingness to rally support and take part in efforts necessary to change this situation. Several members volunteered extra time and the commitment of other organizations to which they belonged (and to whom they had already broached the subject).

Time was spent considering the nature of the region and the chairpeople summarized and emphasized necessary political protocol.

The meeting drew to a close with recognition and discussion/comment on both sides represented of the cooperation and care that must be maintained at all levels of the organization if this project was to succeed.

#### November 1974

The final contract resolution mentioned in the September 9 meeting had still not been resolved. Expectations had been spelled out and agreed upon by all parties. The Agency, however, could not seem to complete the paperwork to finalize these plans. This meant that Middletown had not received a written contract on funding, and the Team had not received a written contract sanctioning its duties. The region was particularly reluctant to proceed without financial assurance for the project. For this stated reason, the Team manager and the region decided to suspend operations until this matter was resolved.

Despite this statemate, the Team continued to work on as much background detail as possible, so as to be immediately prepared to launch into the project upon approval of the contract. Work completed in November included a report and analysis of the project to date, the beginnings of a review of, and catalogue on, the

literature on public participation in planning, slides for a personality profile depiction of the region (slide show depicting the cultural and geographical character of the region), a report concerning the media resources available in the Middletown region (radio stations, cable T.V., newspapers, facilities available for little or no cost were emphasized) and an initial search into the Osman Long-range Planning Process (a possible useful model for meeting the requirements of Phase I in eliciting public concerns and priorities). Several members of the Team met with John Osman of the Brookings Institute of Washington, D.C., who had created and successfully used the process some 40 times. Relevant information concerning this meeting was summarized and reported to the rest of the Team.

Because the contract was unsettled, however, John Schmidt, chief planner for the MRPA, requested that there be no more interchange between Team and the region (until such circumstances changed). His feeling was that, until the Agency could make a firm financial commitment, there was no use in stirring up the hopes of the citizens. For this reason, the team refrained from project work in the region. Occasional phone contact was kept with the JTC chairpeople to apprise them of development and to assure them of later contact. The lack of contract and corresponding lack of interest on Schmidt's part to start anything continued.

December 1974

In light of the continued blockage on the contract, and continued lack of input from the Agency (state) or RPA (planners), the Project Team now continued on its own with efforts to prepare blueprints for a project that fit the needs of the Project as it stood. Such a project had to fit the needs expressed by the members of the region. It had to fit the needs and goals of the planning process, and, in view of increasing time shortage, it had to be a project that could be prepared beforehand in order to be immediately workable upon resolution of contract difficulties. To this end, the Osman process was modified to meet the needs of the Middletown region and re-titled the Policy Generating Procedure (PGP). Several members of the team prepared this report as well as a philosophical position paper justifying the use of such a process. As part of the development of a working plan for this process, John Osman of the Brookings Institute traveled to Little-town for two days. He explained his process, helped adapt it to the situation, and did some initial training of the group in its use. This was on December 16-17.

As a result, a conference for the citizens of the Middletown Region and the Agency were tentatively planned and discussed. The purpose of such a meeting was mostly educational--to inform interested citizens for the



implementation of it. This outline became the basis for a later proposal which was presented to John Schmidt in February under the title, "Middletown, 2000."

Several members of the team, in cooperation with the environmental Impact Team of the grant, began to work on a technical regional profile which could be used by participants in the projected process for the purpose of formulating realistic regional goals and decisions.

Review and catalogue of relevant literature continued. In addition to the above process, many meetings of the team were spent discussing alternate methods of encouraging public participation and input.

Since Schmidt had requested that the Team wait to hear from him, no further contact was made with the region. Long-term discussions were, however, carried on with the officers of the Agency in Bigtown who seemed unwilling to move on the project. Opinion in Bigtown varied between the notion that Schmidt should continue the project on faith even though the contract was not signed, and that the contract was not completely negotiated due to recalcitrance on his part.

During January, a coordinator (full-time) for the project Team was hired and the Osman Process (or PGP)

was more or less firmly settled into by the team. Tasks for its development and presentation were finalized and assigned to team members for implementation. Reviews, descriptions, and explanations were distributed to all parties involved as the official program of the Team. The task of the coordinator for the Team became aimed toward assuring the realization of this project position. Reports of developments were forwarded to Jack O'Niel (Agency), and John Schmidt of Middletown, in hope of facilitating a resolution of the contract impasse by a concrete representation of a possible product.

During this time, the regional profile and literature review were continued. The Team held many internal meetings on strategy, development, politics, etc.

To this end, the Project Team met with O'Niel in Bigtown on January 20 to explain the purpose of the Policy Generating Procedure. He had suggestions for several minor revisions. Reports from O'Niel indicated his approval of the plan, a continued lack of compromise (as he termed it) from Schmidt, and intentions on his part to reopen the matter with Schmidt. Inquires were made on the part of the team as to the possibilities of carrying on the project with a more willing region (one had already volunteered). O'Niel declined this possibility, saying that the money had been earmarked for this region, and that this region was the most clearly in need of such efforts.

Later the same day, representatives of the Project Group presented the PGP to the Statewide Johnson Commission (a state legislative committee interested in the issue of public involvement and in questions of growth and development). This commission was historically amenable to financing proposals dealing with the subject. The purpose of the presentation was to gain more widespread support, in the hope of either moving the contract along, or finding an alternate source of funding, so that the project could be tried in another region.

### February

Upon receipt of the manuscripts, John Schmidt called the Project Team, expressing renewed interest despite the unresolved contract. A meeting was scheduled for February 6 at which time the Team was to have presented a proposal on that plan as well as how it fit into Phase I of the planning process.

On February 6, members of the Team, John Schmidt (RPA) planner, Frank Smith (RPC) commission, Bob LaClaire (Agency), Fred O'Hanahan (Agency), attended the planning meeting. Schmidt agreed on the importance of goal setting in the planning process and expressed interest in the Team approach. Smith was extremely enthusiastic about the project. In light of these agreements, the Team agreed to write a detailed program and proposal as well as

a cover letter describing the project for the RPC regional commission (to be first submitted to Schmidt for approval, and in turn, if all were satisfactory, he would send the report to all local communities to elicit their support, as well as present it at the next RPC meeting for approval). Schmidt insisted that all press releases should go through him. This was agreed upon and releases publicizing the RAPC meeting were subsequently sent to him.

The Project Team spent the following week composing the agreed upon material which was collated into one document and forwarded to John Schmidt by the team coordinator. Copies were also sent to Jack O'Niel (Agency); Frank Smith (RPC); the Chief Investigator and Program Manager. Based on the agreement of February 6, the Group members in addition, spent two days involved in a dry run of the process using volunteers of the Littleton community. The purpose of this was to thoroughly familiarize all with the details of the process, gain more experience, and see where modifications might be required.

On February 12, 1975, John Schmidt was contacted at his office by the Team coordinator at which time he rejected the whole project. He said that he felt the contract was still unresolved, and that he could not spare his staff's time without recompense. Further, he felt that the Project Team needed the supervision of his

staff so that members would not jeopardize current projects or interfere with the politics within the region. Last, it was felt that it was too late in the year to begin a pilot project of the size suggested.

At this point, the Team realized that it was futile to continue. Objections raised could be adapted to, but it was agreed by all Team members that without the cooperation and support of the region and the DPW, any further effort would be counter-productive. And so the project ended.

### Summary

This section will briefly summarize the main events described in the case study.

#### August-September, 1974; The Contract

As a result of meetings, a set of needs and expectations were formulated. A contract was described which included the expressed needs and responsibilities of the Agency, the Team, and in a general sense, the region of Middletown.

#### Needs:

1. Initiation of the development of a long-range system phase of the planning process
2. To build a comprehensive, cooperative, continuing (3-C) approach to transportation planning (especially within Phase I)
3. To develop a model RPSR.



## Responsibilities:

### The Team:

1. Research on aspects/components of the problem
2. Development of the systems planning process
3. Development of a work plan for public involvement activity
4. Review of state, regional, and local policies, plan, programs relevant to goal setting in Middletown
5. To assist Agency in developing mechanisms for state-agency coordination and input through the pilot project
6. To assist Middletown RPA data collection and analysis

### The Agency:

1. To coordinate and take responsibility for communications at all levels
2. To suggest training sessions and attend all such
3. To work with feedback
4. To make sure the Team receives copies of all material relevant to Middletown for review, and vice versa

### Middletown:

1. To develop goals and policies with the aid of the Project Team
2. To be the project area for a new phase in planning in the state
3. To give relevant information to the Team and Bigtown.

These agreements were fairly general and circled around the development of a planning process which would continually incorporate public involvement feedback, using the 3-C concept.

October 1974; Data Collection and  
Information Sharing

The chief activities of the Project Team in this month consisted of becoming familiar with the many facets of the project region, particularly the representatives of the two local participatory groups involved in transportation planning, in preparation for the commencement of the project.

Meetings between the Team and these affected local people focused on mutual role definitions and the assessment of lines of communication on that level. As such information was collected, team members recorded it and made preliminary possible plans. In summary, this information concluded that there were many needs for a regional profile.

Needs:

1. A regional profile for the team, for outsiders, and for citizens themselves to better understand Middletown region and its workings.
2. Long-term as opposed to crisis planning goals in the region with the involvement of local citizens.
3. A more representative sample of citizens from the region needed in planning.
4. Communications among members of the RPC, RPA, JTC, and Agency needed improvement.
5. The JTC needed a more responsible, visible position in order to be a real vehicle for improving public participation.

All of these goals also fit into the first part of Phase I of the Systems Planning Process.

Because closure on the contract between the RPA and DPW had not been arrived at; John Schmidt refused to continue with the work plan until this was accomplished. His position was that without money allocated to the study, he could not supervise the effort. For this reason, efforts to operationalize the needs expressed above were suspended until such negotiations could be completed.

November 1974-January 1975: Communi-  
cations Breakdown

Due to contract difficulties between the Agency and the Team, RPA (region) relations between Middletown and the Group were temporarily halted. In the interim, the Team engaged in research tasks, and the search and development of a project format which could be immediately used upon contract agreement.

Tasks:

1. Review and analyze existing situation (report)
2. Continue review of relevant literature on public participation
3. Report on media resources
4. Contact and subsequent training with John Osman concerning his planning process
5. Extrapolation on the planning process of John Osman to fit the needs of the Middletown region
6. Development of a work plan for operationalizing the PGP, work assignments
7. Proposal (detailed), work plan, and philosophical paper concerning the PGP

8. Presentation of PGP to Johnson Commission
9. Re-establishing communication links on the Project between the Team, the Agency and the Region

February 1975; Conflicting Goals  
Termination of Contract

The efforts of the Team in the month of February centered around negotiations between various actors within the systems planning project. These negotiations were for the purpose of reaching agreement and amending differences so that a public participation effort might begin. Attempts at such resolution ended in failure with refusal on part of the Region to accept the project, refusal on the part of the state to fund the regional project, and refusal on the part of the Project Team to attempt to arrive at any further compromises.

Tasks:

1. Contact of the Team by John Schmidt and subsequent arrangement of negotiation meeting
2. Preparation by Project Team of detailed proposal and work plan for regional groups education (as well as a cover letter)
3. Preparation and contacts by Project Team for necessary publicity
4. Stream of communications, negotiations, written, meetings, phone calls
5. Simulation of planning process by the Team with members of Littleton Community.

In general, the events of this case began with normal intervention and change strategies; contracting

and data gathering. Sometime during the process of data gathering the exchange of information revealed such a disparity in definitions and goals that the intervention was temporarily suspended. In that interim time, each of the three members of the project (the Team, the Agency, and the Region) further cemented their own approach, without lateral communication. When communication was re-established in February, the obvious lack of agreement over goals and definitions was so great that it heralded the termination of the project.

This lack of agreement over definitions and goals will be discussed in the last section of this chapter in an attempt to diagnose its cause and results.

To aid in that diagnosis, the next section will present selections from taped interviews with key informants from the case. It is hoped that such excerpts will provide a clear example of the lack of communication, conflict in goals, and resulting perceptions and emotions associated by its actors, with this case.

#### In Retrospect: Taped Interviews

During the months of March, April, and May, 1975, this author held interviews with key people who had been involved in the project attempt. These included: Rielly, Flaherty, and O'Niel of the Agency (state office); Schmidt and Bellini of the Middletown RPA (planners); Smith of the



Middletown RPC (Commission); Jones of the Middletown JTC (citizens board); and Scheltzkopfh, the Chief Investigator for the Team grant. The following section contains the verbatim transcript of their perceptions of the Project Team and the Project in general (only repetitive phrases, articles, connectors were deleted). It is hoped that this will clarify the conflicting positions taken by the three major groups involved in the project.

#### What the Agency Thought

Rielley: ". . .nothing happened in Middletown. It never got off the ground (it was part of a full regional planning study). Why? There were too many other things we had to do, so we never got to that project. . ."

O'Niel: ". . .this was a crucial point. Like anything else in public affairs, this was a political thing and had to be handled delicately. That was difficult to bring out. What blew it (the project was moving right along) was the title "Middletown 2000." It implied the regional offices weren't planning for the year 2000.

"I had been urging that they (the Team) perfect what the region was doing instead of something new. Something new implied criticism. When it hit the press, that was it! (as I felt). This was political. If you want to institute a process. . .you have to play politics, you just can't put it on the table (you have to adjust people

and yourself). That isn't done at meetings, and it is the only way you get things done. This wasn't that threatening. There was some connection between a state land study group and the team. The Team went before them to deliver a paper about their project and make a good impression. That blinded them to the fact they were in a delicate stage of negotiations and it harmed it. That was a mistake. Never put ideas into writing at this stage. They should have described it verbally. I can see how this would have seemed a good and forthright idea to them. I think people in the RPA felt there was an implied criticism. In their haste to work, they forgot who they were working with and their impact on that (region). The feeling was that the Team was coming in to help an impaired organization. That was okay and could have been dealt with. But when it got into the papers we couldn't deal with it. Planners have to be politicians too (successful ones at least). The Team tried to do something different, something innovative. They should just have gone along. They should have kept any ideas secret. By letting it out. . . it was all a 'dream machine'. I wanted them from the first to support and facilitate what we were already doing. We didn't want innovations. The program was already drastically innovative for the department. We didn't have the time. . . to react to suggestions. The Team thing was a gimmick to get wide talents for a little money. . ."

Flaherty (State Planner): ". . .we didn't get any money for the study to begin with on time, it just has gone through now (May). The Team said that they would go on anyway, without the money so things would be started. Schmidt was suspicious because without money he did not want to get the citizens started on something that would not come through in the end. Schmidt was afraid too. He was in the middle and didn't want to upset his political balance. That Team went on their own without consulting us. They kept pushing their ideas and wanting to do public participation. . . . They even went to the Johnson Commission without telling us. If Schmidt hadn't said no, we would have told them to get out. They were just creating confusion. Unless you have money, you can't do anything or get staffed up. The study should have been reoriented. They should have been told to do something somewhere else. It was a real fiasco. . . . They were headstrong people.

"We kept trying to tell them that there was no money, and if the (the region) doesn't want help without that, there's nothing you can do. It was a bureaucratic and administrative hang-up here (that's the worst thing, it continually messes up the 3-C work here). We told them to find a region that did have money. . . . They had that option. . . . The contract was vague, it never spelled out Middletown, they came up with it. It was to be a pilot study. . . . One of our people worked it out with me and

was to start there. It was going to go until the dollars fell through. . . . Simon Haley and the Commissioner decided to start in Middletown. It was a policy decision. . . . That region is perhaps the least successful of those attempting participation (more parochial and isolated, little give and take in citizen participation as it is--its in bad shape--the worst. The director (Schmidt) isn't good, Bellini is authoritarian. The JTC is rigid, the director seems to be at their mercy. (Meetings are closed instead of open, the agenda is difficult, you can't speak up because of the structure, the JTC also doesn't advertise itself to the region.) They were probably suspicious of you people. This is consistent with their approach to money and planning. . . . The students from the Team came to meetings. I didn't like that at all. I don't like to be watched. . . . It started off wrong and there was no way Schmidt would push it till he got the money--that was credibility. I doubt if it could ever be done in Middletown, although if we had got lots of money from here we might have shot lots of planners in there to change the set. . . . Money speaks. If it had come they would have had to do it. . . after all, why try to get people involved again after they have become stagnant? Why gather them together if there is nothing for them to do? No real decisions or projects to be done?. . ."

What the Region Thought

Schmidt (Chief Planner): ". . . Is this going to be in confidence? There is money and contractual obligations involved and I don't know how frank I can safely be. I think I have to give you the warning that I may not be entirely candid. (You can appreciate my position.) I just can't do something that might remotely cause difficulties (this might even be actionable). . . . Last summer I started getting calls and visits. I was invited to meet at O'Niel's office. Several meetings on involvement. It seemed I was being meeting-ed to death. Team folks had a general, not specific idea, of what to do. Everyone kept saying it was a great opportunity for the regional commission and we were to design a program. I didn't have any staff or money to do this. I said this to O'Niel and O'Hanahan and Flaherty. We weren't getting anywhere. . . . I guess the Team dropped out then. We didn't hear much for a while. Then recently (March, February), I was contacted again. The team indicated they wanted to try out a process in the region. We looked at it and decided we had no funding. We couldn't let them do their meetings without our input. We said regretfully that it may be an opportunity, but we have no impact on it ourselves."

"There was not contract. I never say it. People out there can't do things for me. They have to be integrated



into my organization in order to be useful to me. I have to see that through them I can get what I want. . . . "

Bellini (Planner): ". . . I'm afraid I just can't answer. . . . This was an attempt on the part of the people at the Team to make a survey in the remaining time of their contract. . . . I guess we didn't feel it was too productive. You'll just have to ask Schmidt. . . . I heard from all of you that a whole bevy of people would be coming to help do this study. I said okay, but I'll believe it when I see it. As we got deeper into it I got to see that your contract would be over before ours would begin. . . . I was upset that someone would go before the legislature. . . and give them a report without okaying it with our RPA. I've been in grad school and I knew all along this would happen. Students come to say hi, and you don't see them again til they turn up with a product. Once you get some information and diagnose it you should have come to see us, to get some feedback as to whether your directions are right. We're close to the region and we know. . . . You came to see us at first, and then I never heard from you again. . . . There was no process here, it was a product. . . . You were given your requirements by the Agency and your Team and they didn't mesh with our needs. You did what you had to do, and so did we. When you are hired by the Agency it's obvious that you will come up with a product and that we will have no influence on it here. Your plan

could conflict with our plan. As long as a consultant is accountable to the Agency, they'll give them what they want. You wouldn't be accountable to this region, and that's suspicious in this area. . . ."

Smith (Commission Chairperson): ". . . I think the Team came to do a project and we decided we didn't want it. John said it was no good. I don't know anymore. . . ."

Jones (Citizen's Board, Chairperson): ". . . I believed very strongly you were hired by the Agency to come and advise us on 3-C. That jelled with what I wanted to see. You wanted to help explain to our JTC, to train us to work together to gain public confidence and participation. I welcomed you cause I wanted that too. . . . I saw Bellini deliberately filibustering you from the start. I don't think he could tell you a thing of what you said except from the start he believed you had a very prejudiced reason for being here. Personal reason? He thought it might be something that you personally could gain from. He told us you'd come and you'd go and it really wasn't meaningful. 'You'll see, they'll go'. . . . I don't know what happened, I know what he said and I don't trust him. I don't trust him and I don't believe him. . . . He said you go information deliberately from the RPA so you could prepare something, I don't remember exactly, I was so aghast at what he said that I just turned him off, something that you prepared for their information and that

was all you wanted and then the Agency fired you. . . . Bellini constantly kept telling me you won't be of any value. The only thing he thought you might be of value to him on was to. . . make a little booklet on high school level or lower about the RPA. He said, those people (the public) really don't understand otherwise (I wanted to kill him!). He said that was the only valuable thing you could do and he would allow or want you to do. . . . I didn't believe that was the only thing you could do, NO!!! I was very, very angry with that man and felt he was stupid. I don't know why, but I felt that for some reason I didn't understand, he didn't want you there. I know it! I know that we are getting poor advice. Perhaps he and Schmidt are ill-trained, I knew you came out of grad school and I felt you had something to share, to give (even though you did come from the Agency) and I wanted to hear all of it. I wanted to share it with people who want to be involved, because we need training in public participation in order to have things work. I felt you would give us what we wanted, I would like to go out speaking and get people to show interest in this area. Now you're not hearing from them. You could have helped us. Mike Granelli was interested too. Joe was so revved up that what you were doing was no good, he was offensive. Anytime I talk of (the people) trying to gain a foothold, it doesn't work. The only information we had on your project is what you said

when you were here, or on the phone. Schmidt never told us anything. He should have told the JTC and didn't because he had no intention of letting you come in from the very beginning. I don't understand why. The only thing I'm able to say is that people in the offices (high positions) protect themselves. They were afraid of you. . . . I was told the reason you weren't there was that you had got all information out of them on work they had done, and that you had published it and sold it and this is why you were fired by the Agency. I said I didn't believe it and Joe said it was true. Now I remember. . . ."

#### What the Chief Investigator had to Say

Scheltzkopfh (Chief Investigator of University Staff):

"People had different purposes in this project. In the Agency, they wanted an opportunity to carry forward a regional comprehensive planning process. It would be a useful test with the Team providing staff support. Schmidt wanted support for what he was already doing. . . . How things were to be carried out was never sufficiently worked out in detail to carry it through. The emphasis of our Team was different from the Agency. Our composition and interests were more directed towards those aspects of this process which dealt with public involvement and with the articulation of regional goals. That was, of course, our initial goal, but we got no further. . . . The Agency wanted a coupling of their planning and regional planning (a way to

accomplish this has never been found). So it was a monumental task. It's easy enough to sketch a broad outline, but the details are hell, and even with infinitely more resources than we had. Regional people had regional interests (John saw this only as a chance to get money). John was also not in on early meetings and when he was introduced, he was threatened by this project and by us. Especially since we started to work in a public way (his fears that things were getting out of his control (as planner) were justified. If we had concerned ourselves with only the technical side (an economic growth model, etc.) and restricted ourselves to more neutral activities, we wouldn't have run against the problems we did."

"In addition, if the climate of relationship between the DPW and that region had been better we might have had greater opportunity. Schmidt wasn't getting his contract for staff support and here we were, wild-eyed people from a University coming in and getting his people all hepped up on future goals and calling into question projects the Agency had already committed itself to (in his eyes). Under other circumstances, that might never have happened. Mostly it was a combination of folks having different points of view and never reconciling them before getting started (which assumes, of course, that they could have been reconciled). . . ."



## Summary

Briefly, the interviews recorded above follow the general trend of events in the case study previously described.

Members of the state agency expressed some dismay that their total plan concerning the project had not been actualized. They attributed this failure to the ignorance and political naivete of the Team as well as to their own lack of resources, time and interests. In conclusion, the members of this level felt that the project was a failure but that public participation itself was succeeding.

Local planners reiterated their scepticism over the sincerity of attempts at participation by the state level of the agency. Fleeting regret over potential support from the Team and the state was expressed. It was made obvious that such help could only be acceptable if it followed the planners stand on participation and politics in their region.

Representatives of citizen groups vocalized confusion, impotence, extreme frustration and anger at the failure of this project. Citizens questioned the motives of those higher in the hierarchy and their own continuing involvement in the process.

The conclusion of this case heralded a good deal of blaming behavior and resentment. No one seemed to agree on what had happened, much less what had gone wrong.

Confusion seemed predominant. This is much the same sense which the case projects.

### Analysis

Previous sections of this paper described a case and presented supporting material from taped interviews. This section will present a brief analysis of the case just described, in regard to the hypothesis of this study. To restate that hypothesis:

Individuals will feel that they are active participants in their own governance to the extent that they can influence or make decisions that affect them.

This is the case study of a failure in public participation. The obvious complexities of this organization, its members and the consultants working with it combine to increase the difficulties which caused this failure. Lack of communication, lack of direction and leadership in the Team, lack of coordination of relevant actors, inadequacy of funds and person-hours, the political naivete of the consultants detail but a few of these. Behind the detail, however, there must have been some underlying reason for this failure. What is it?

What was the problem? If one looks at the details of the study, a particular pattern begins to emerge. This was a study of a bureaucracy, a very powerful one, in the process of implementing a law on public participation. Such a law was originally instigated and encouraged by

the public in order to become a law. This would indicate that the public would be willing to cooperate (as indeed the members of the JTC were). The same assumption would allow for the other public regional body, the RPC. There was some degree of resistance from local planners (RPA), but events and interviews seem to indicate that this stemmed from small scale local political intrigue and mistrust of the state agency. The last segment of this organization, the state bureau, was at the top of the organizational hierarchy. In addition, it had control of a great deal of money and resources and avowed a great concern over the implementation of public participation. Why did it not use some of that money and power to encourage this attempt? Or to remedy it, if that was required? People, time, contracts, could have been readied, commands given, coordination and direction provided to all parties. Why did it chose the worse region in the state for such an innovative attempt?

Obvious answers which arise to the above questions, is that this agency's interest in public participation (at least at this time) was rhetorical. It was clear that they possessed the resources and were unwilling, for whatever reason, to distribute them. They were privy to the most information, but did not share it. They did nothing. If public participation calls for equalization of decision making, of power (in the form of resources, communication,

influence, decisions) it is obvious that such an equalization was not occurring in this agency. Why?

Why indeed. So many people were initially so willing and eager to promote participation that it is impossible to diagnose this as a failure due to general lack of sincerity. And yet, within a matter of months these same people were at loggerheads--to the extent that continuation of the project was impossible. A recapitulation of theories of power and participation should help clarify this.

Depending on the point of view from which any participant experiences participation, there will be an ensuing difference in definition. This difference will evidence itself in strategies and results. It can be deduced from this that people who adhere to different definitions of participation, will begin to be at odds with one another if they work together on an effort in participation. How does this idea apply to this case?

It is obvious that the state agency was operating under a sometimes political, and sometimes mechanical orientation. The government had dictated that they should institute a program in public participation, and so they did. This was in spite of the fact that they equated participation with direct individual input, and felt that it was an impossible goal to achieve. Power and decisions were concentrated in the state level section

of their agency and they did not intend to relinquish it to "laymen." At the same time, the possibility of reducing public resistance by this method had not escaped them. In their opinion, a ritual input of information by the public was a fair trade for the reduction to obstacles to "business as usual." That is, it was a fair trade as long as such participation was limited to information input. It was, therefore, the aim of the agency to insure avenues of input and at the same time maintain the status quo vis a vis power in decision making.

The planners, who worked fairly closely with the agency were aware of the agency's tendency to maintain power. And so they were suspicious of participative efforts. Their orientation to participation was at times mechanical and at times organizational. For this reason they could, to some degree, appreciate the state's position. Their hope was for a more responsible position within the organization and some degree of cooperation between all segments. The gain for them in participation was further help from above and below in terms of unding and tack completion. A continuing, but more equalized hierarchy seemed feasible to them.

On the whole, members of the citizen groups agreed with the psychological and social-psychological approaches to participation. They expected to become equal partners



in the decision-making process in regards to the work of the agency. Their definition of participation perhaps grew from their yankee background and the democratic example of the town meeting. They expected (concrete) results in return for the time and effort they expended.

Finally, the Team's bias was clearly in the direction of the psychological and social psychological definitions. Such a definition led them to immediately assume that their working contract endorsed grass roots mobilization. Efforts on the Team's part was directed towards equalizing the power structure by developing lower levels of the hierarchy. The basis of such an orientation was personal idealism and philosophy.

In any case, a working relation in such a situation was impossible. The definitions of participation espoused by each group precluded working to achieve the goals of other members or working mutually to achieve a joint goal.

In such a situation, where the chief power holders believe in a rhetorical definition of participation, they will continue to perpetuate their ideas through rhetorical strategies which must be perceived by those lower on the hierarchy, as dishonest and dissatisfying.

As far as the agency was concerned, though the project here had failed, participation was succeeding in the state. There were still public participatory groups

where information could still be vented and collected. But the people who were bitter were those who had the most to gain. The lower groups in the hierarchy, the participatory groups and the interventionists, did not see a change in power. So despite the continued existence of the groups, it was felt that participation had failed. The project and its changes were participation. Hopes had been raised and nothing had happened. There had been no structural changes, no shifting of power and control. These participants were disappointed and angry. They blamed those higher in the organization and condemned participation.

### Conclusion

In order for an attempt at public participation to succeed it must be oriented towards an effective definition of participation (as elaborated in Chapter II). The rhetoric or reality of the attempt can be tested by looking at the role and perceptions of lower members of the hierarchy in projects. If such members perceive that they are gaining some amount of power, then the effort at participation is effective. If such members do not perceive a gain in power, then the attempt is rhetorical.

It is the diagnosis of this author that the agency in question was top heavy in power and rhetorical in its

definitions of participation. Such a position was supported by the confusion in directions experienced by members.

The author was a member of the consulting team of the study. The next chapter, therefore, reposed this question and the general hypothesis to the members of the organization for the purpose of examining their perceptions in regards to this diagnosis.

## C H A P T E R   F I V E

### ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

#### Introduction

In this chapter the author will present data from the third method that was used to explore the general hypothesis of this dissertation (as stated in Chapter Two) and the related twelve working hypotheses stated in Chapter Three.

Three methods were used because it did not seem to this author that the complexity of the general hypothesis could be adequately tested without using measures which could examine several of its aspects from a variety of view points.

In the last chapter, a case study described an intervention into a bureaucratic organization involved in the implementation of public participation. This presented the reader with some idea of the complex practical aspect of the subject of public participation. It was noted at the end of that chapter that one of the chief reasons for the failure of this attempt seemed to lie in the question of power equalization. Those in the upper reaches of the hierarchy were reluctant to relinquish

decision making power to those below them. They seemed to perceive the connection between successful participation and power equalization differently than their subordinates.

In this chapter, data collected from participants in this case, as well as participants from across the state will be presented. Such data stems from two sources; a questionnaire and a tape interview.

As mentioned and described in Chapter Three, the questionnaire generally assessed the state citizens' perceptions of levels of influence within their organization.

Interviews gathered as mentioned in Chapter Three and later described in this chapter, explored citizens definitions of the relation of influence in decision making to public participation, and the distribution of such influence within their own organization.

It is these last two measures which will be presented in the following pages.

### Data From the Questionnaires

#### Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1--Perceptions of the locus of highest actual participation in a total organization in decision making (as measured by Tannenbaum's Influence Questionnaire) will be positively related to bureaucratic hierarchical level.

In terms of Tannenbaum's control graph, this situation would be demonstrated by a graph of actual influence



ratings with a zero or negative, i.e., regression coefficient.

Null Hypothesis 1--There will be no difference in perception of the actual amount of participation in decision making in the total organization by hierarchical level.

This hypothesis was tested by calculating the slope of the control graph produced by respondents' (N=148) ratings of perceived actual control in the Agency. If the slope is negative (i.e., significantly different from zero), then the null hypothesis is rejected, and we may assume that "participation" does not occur in the Agency and H1 is supported.

The graph for total actual control is presented in Figure 2. The slope (standardized regression coefficient) of the best fitting straight line for this data is  $-.52$ , significant at the .001 level ( $T=16.697$ ,  $DF=146$ ). Hypothesis 1 is thus supported.

## Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2--Perceptions of the locus of highest ideal participation in decision making as measured by Tannenbaum's Influence Questionnaire will be negatively related in a total organization to bureaucratic hierarchical level.

This situation would be represented by a control graph (of ideal influence ratings) with a positive slope.

Null Hypothesis 2--There will be no difference in perception of the ideal amount of participation in decision making in the total organization by hierarchical level.

This hypothesis was tested by calculating the slope of the control graph produced by respondents (N=148) ratings of perceived ideal control in the total Agency. If the resulting slope is zero or positive, then the null hypothesis is rejected, and we may assume that members of the Agency do want participation (or shared influence) in their organization. The graph for total ideal control is presented in Figure 2. The slope of the ideal graph is +.15. The null hypothesis is rejected and hypothesis two is thus supported, indicating that participation is desired by the total Agency.

### Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3--Participants will perceive that they actually have less participation in their organization than they would ideally like to have.

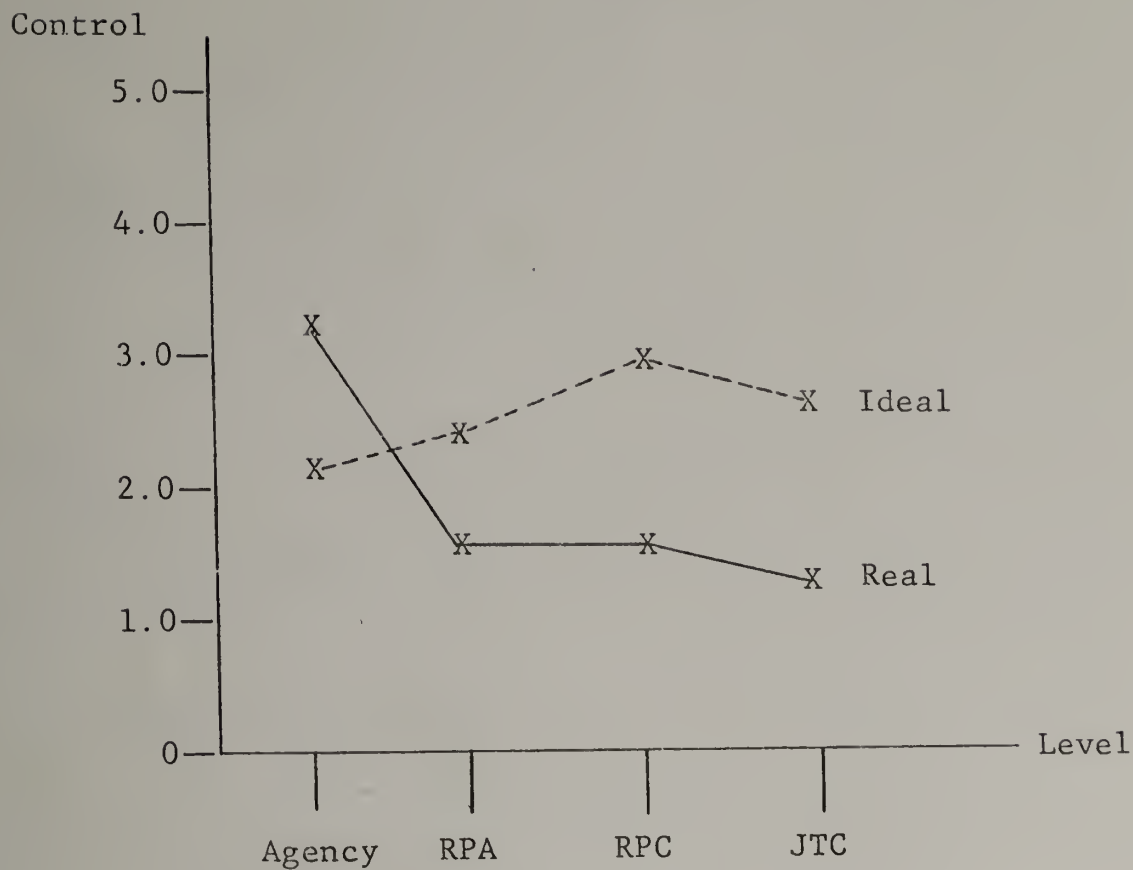
This situation would be represented by differing control graphs (or equal means of slopes) for actual and ideal influence.

Null Hypothesis 3--Participants will perceive no difference between their actual and ideal perceptions of participation within this organization.

This hypothesis was tested in two ways: the difference between the average real and ideal amounts of control was tested using a T-test (of correlated means) of the difference between the mean of the real influence graph ( $\bar{X}_r=2.0574$ ,  $SD=1.1976$ ) and the mean ideal graph ( $\bar{X}_i=2.5250$ ,

Figure 2

Actual and Ideal Perceived Influence  
in the Total Organization  
(N=148)



SD=0.989). The results of this analysis indicates that the two means are significantly different ( $T=8.36$ ,  $DF=146$ ,  $p<.001$  [one-tailed test]). Thus, the total amount of influence desired by the organization is significantly different than the perceived actual total amount of control. The difference in slopes was tested using a T-test for the difference between correlated coefficients (Cohen and Cohen, 1975, p. 53). The results indicated that the two slopes are significantly different ( $T=5.34$ ,  $DF=146$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Thus, null hypothesis 3 is rejected as the real and ideal graphs differ in both total control and pattern of control. And hypothesis 3 is supported (Figure 2).

#### Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4--Perceptions of actual participation in decision making (as measured by the Influence Questionnaire) in the Middletown Region, will be positively related to bureaucratic level.

This situation would be demonstrated in a control graph of actual perceived influence with a zero or positive slope (i.e., regression coefficient).

Null Hypothesis 4--There will be no difference in perception of the actual amount of participation in decision making in the Middletown Region by hierarchical level.

This hypothesis is tested by calculating the slope of the control graph produced by the respondents ( $N=35$ ) ratings of perceived actual control in the Middletown Region. If the slope is negative (i.e., significantly different than zero) the null hypothesis is rejected and we may assume

that "participation" does not occur in the Middletown Region. The graph for actual control within Middletown is presented in Figure 3. The slope of the best fitting straight line for this data is  $-.569$ , significant at the  $.001$  level ( $T=1.11$ ,  $DF=33$ ,  $p<.001$ ) indicating that the Middletown Region does not perceive participation as happening for that region. The null hypothesis 4 is, thus, rejected and hypothesis 4 is supported.

#### Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5--Perceptions of ideal participation in decision making (as measured by the Influence Questionnaire) in the Middletown Region, will be negatively related to bureaucratic level.

This situation would be represented by a control graph (of ideal influence ratings) with a positive slope.

Null Hypothesis 5--There will be no difference in perception of the ideal amount of participation in decision making in the Middletown Region by hierarchical level.

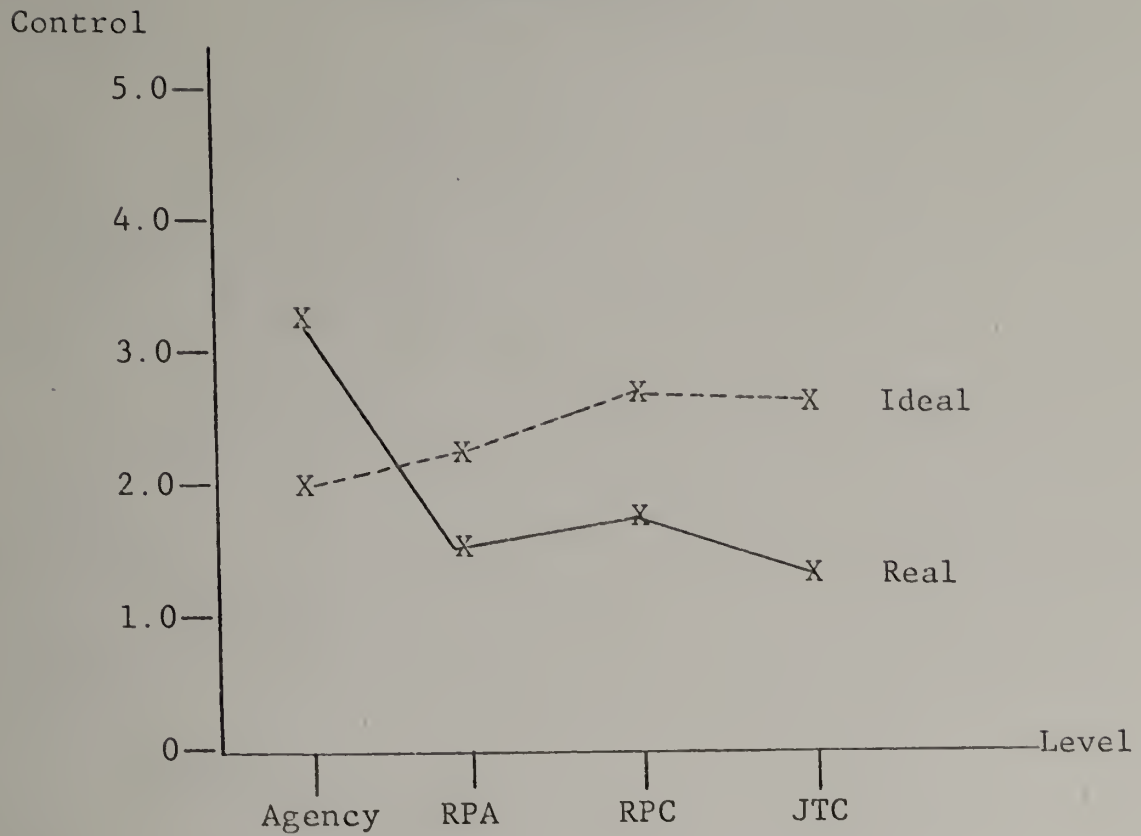
This hypothesis was tested by calculating the slope of the control graph produced by respondents ( $N=35$ ) ratings of perceived ideal control in the region. If the resulting slope is zero or positive, then Hypothesis 5 is rejected and we may assume that the members of the Middletown Region do want participation (or shared influence) in this organization and region.

The graph for total ideal influence is presented in Figure 3. The slope of the ideal graph is  $+.111$ . Null



Figure 3

Actual and Ideal Perceived Influence  
in the Middletown Region  
(N=35)



hypothesis 5 is thus rejected, indicating that participation is desired in the Middletown Region. Hypothesis 5 is supported.

### Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6--Participants in the Middletown Region will perceive that they actually have less participation in their organization than they would ideally like to have.

This situation would be represented by different control graphs (unequal means or slopes), for real and ideal influence.

Null Hypothesis 6--Participants in the Middletown Region will perceive no difference between their actual and ideal perceptions of power within this organization.

This null hypothesis was tested in two ways: difference between means of the control graphs (total control) and differences between the slopes (regression coefficient) of the two graphs.

The difference between the average real and average ideal amounts of control was tested using a T-test (for correlated means) of the difference between the mean of the real influence graph ( $\bar{X}_r=1.99$ ,  $SD=1.29$ ) and the mean of the ideal graph ( $\bar{X}_i=2.41$ ,  $SD=1.12$ ). The results of this analysis indicate that the two means are significantly different ( $T=3.42$ ,  $DF=33$ ,  $p<.01$ , one-tailed test). Thus, the total amount of influence desired by the organization is significantly greater than the perceived actual amount of control.

The difference in slopes was tested using a T-test of the difference between correlated coefficients (Cohen and Cohen, 1975, p. 53). The results indicate that the two slopes are significantly different ( $T=2.08$ ,  $DF=33$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Thus, null hypothesis 5 is rejected, as the real and ideal graphs for Middletown differ significantly in both total control and pattern of control. Hypothesis 6 is thus supported.

#### Hypothesis 7

Hypothesis 7--There will be no difference in the perceptions of actual participation within the organization by region.

Null Hypothesis 7--There will be differences (significant) in the perceptions of actual participation within this organization by region.

This null hypothesis was tested by a 3-way analysis of variance of Region (4 levels), hierarchy within the regions (4 levels) and item (4 levels), with 3 dependent variables (real perceived influence, ideal perceived influence, and a difference score (real and ideal) taken from the respondents ratings ( $N=133$ ) of perceived actual control among the regions). If there is not a significant difference between regions in these matters, then null hypothesis 7 is rejected and we may assume that all regions had similar perceptions of participation within their organization.

The three way analysis of variance is presented in Table 4 and Figures 4 and 5. In this null hypothesis, then, differences in total perceived amounts of actual influence were tested by the main effect. Differences in slope were tested by the AC, BC interaction. Finally, there were three dependent variables in the analysis which tested whether there was any difference between hierarchical levels or regions in perceived actual control, ideal control and differences between the real and ideal perceptions of control. (Note: "Item" was included as an independent variable primarily to provide a test of differences in slope through the interaction effects of "region" and "hierarchy" with "item." The significant main effect for "item" shown in Table 4 merely confirms the results of the previous test of Hypothesis 1 that there were differences between ratings of control among hierarchical levels ("items"), i.e., there is a significant "slope."

As can be seen in Table 4 and Figure 5 there was no difference between hierarchical levels or regions as to the perceived amounts of actual influence. In addition, the same was true for the AB, AC, and ABC interactions. This indicates that Middletown and the other three regions tested were not different in their perceptions of participation within their organization. Null hypothesis 7 is rejected. Hypothesis 7 is, thus, supported.

TABLE 4  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF INFLUENCE  
RATINGS BY HIERARCHY AND ITEM  
FOR FOUR REGIONS

	Real Influence		Ideal Influence		Difference (Real-Ideal)	
	F	Prob	F	Prob	F	Prob
(Region) (A)	1.235	.300	0.225	.879	0.300	.825
(Hierarchy) B	0.381	.684	0.735	.482	0.053	.948
(Item) C	79.506	.000*	12.339	.000*	76.681	.000*
(Region X Hierarchy) AB	1.963	.076	1.064	.388	1.648	.140
(Region X Item) AC	0.868	.554	1.310	.230	0.708	.701
(Hierarchy X Item) BC	0.844	.010*	2.644	.016*	1.802	.098
(Region X Hierarchy X Item) ABC	1.169	.285	1.297	.186	0.724	.787

\*indicates statistical significance.



Figure 4

Actual Influence in the Total Organization  
as Perceived by All Regions  
(N=133)

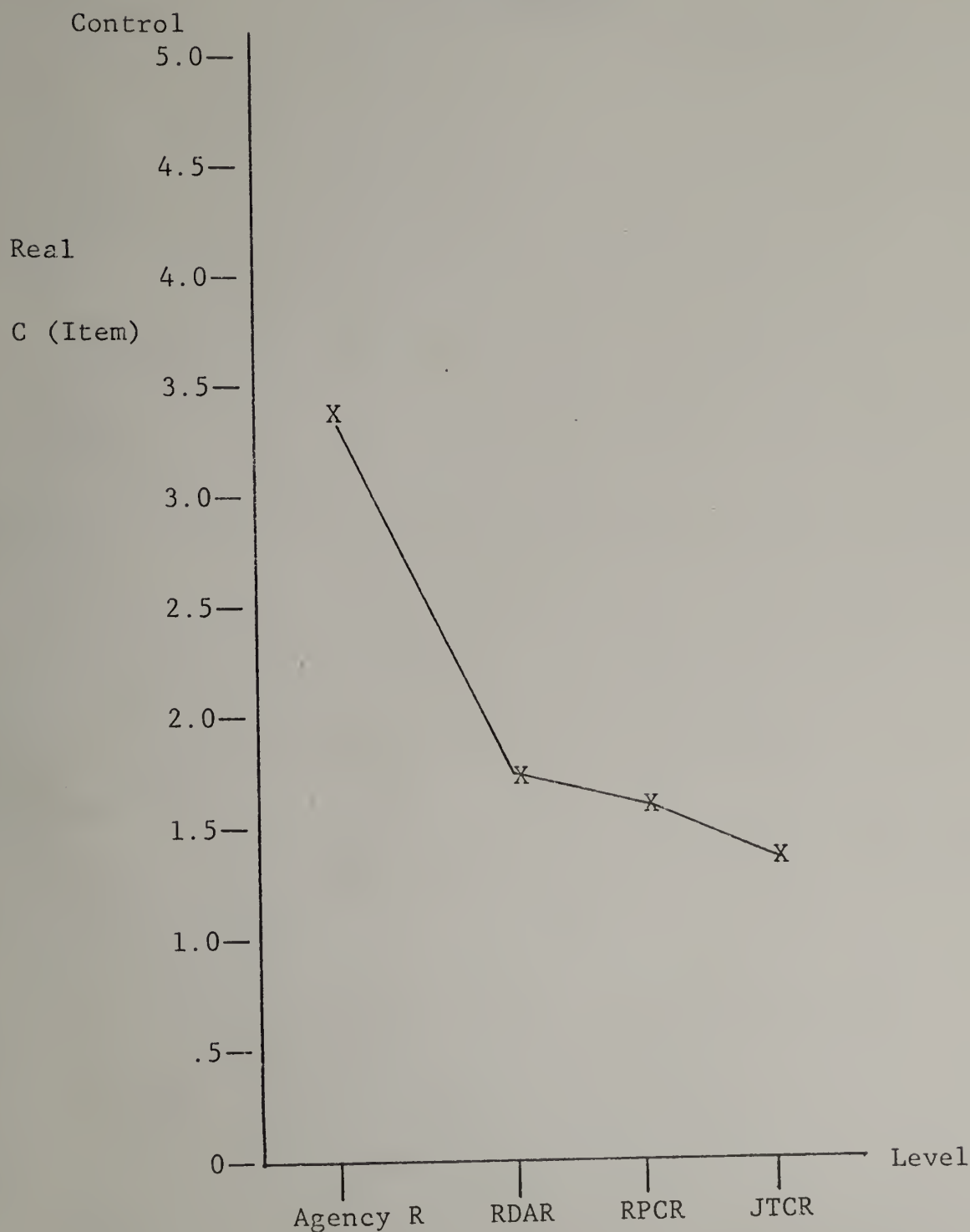
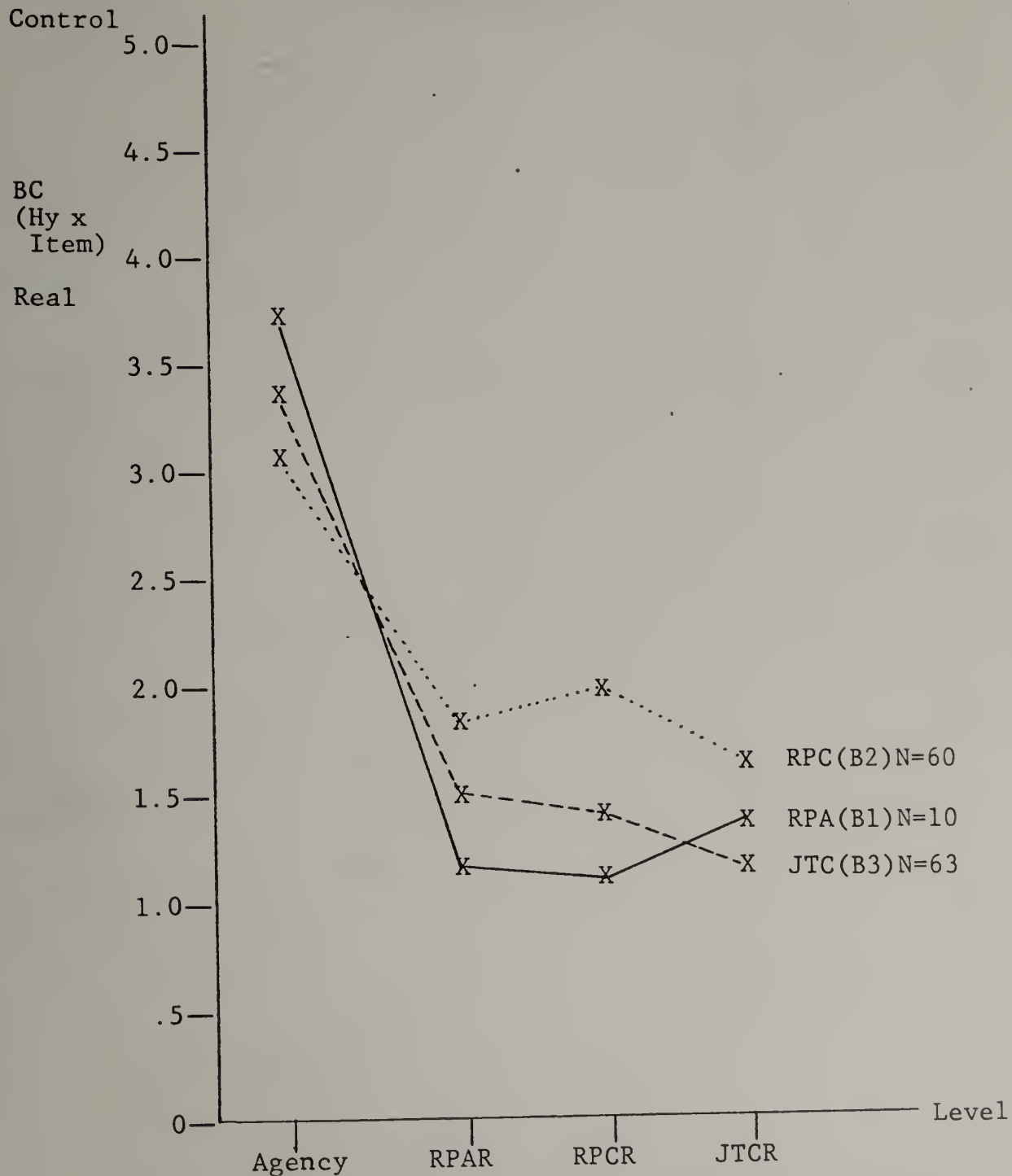


Figure 5

Actual Influence in the Total Organization  
as Perceived by Regional Hierarchical Levels



Hypothesis 8

Hypothesis 8--There will be no difference in the perceptions of ideal participation within the organization by region.

Null Hypothesis 8--There will be differences (significant) in the perceptions of ideal participation within this organization by region.

This null hypothesis was tested by a three-way analysis of variance of region (4 levels), hierarchy (4 levels within regions) and item (4 levels), with three dependent variables (real perceived influence, ideal perceived influence, and a difference score, real and ideal), taken from the respondents ratings (N=133 of perceived ideal control among regions. If there is not a significant difference between regions in these matters, then null hypothesis 8 is rejected and we may assume that all regions had similar perceptions of participation within their organization.

The three-way analysis of variance is presented in Table 4. In this hypothesis then, differences in total perceived amounts of ideal influence were tested by the main effect. Differences in slope were tested by the AC, BC interaction. Finally, there were three dependent variables in the analysis which tested whether there was any difference between hierarchical levels or regions in perceived actual control, ideal control and differences between the real and ideal perceptions of control.

As can be seen in Table 4 and Figures 6 and 7, there was no difference between hierarchical levels or regions as to the perceived amounts of ideal influence. In addition, the same was true for the AB, AC, and ABC interactions. This indicates that Middletown and the three other regions tested were not different in their perceptions of participation within their organization. Null hypothesis 8 is rejected and hypothesis 8 is supported.

#### Hypothesis 9

Hypothesis 9--There will be no difference in perception of differences between actual and ideal participation in the organization by region.

Null Hypothesis 9--There will be a significant difference in the perceptions of differences between actual and ideal perception of participation in this organization by region.

This null hypothesis was tested with a three-way analysis of variance of region (4 levels), hierarchy (4 levels within regions) and item (4 levels), with three dependent variables (real perceived influence, ideal perceived influence, and a difference score, real and ideal) taken from the respondents ratings (N=133) of perceived control among regions. If there is not a significant difference between regions in these matters, then null hypothesis 9 is rejected and we may assume that all regions had similar perceptions of differences between real and ideal perceptions of influence in their organization.

Figure 6

Ideal Influence in the Total Organization  
as Perceived by All Regions  
(N=133)

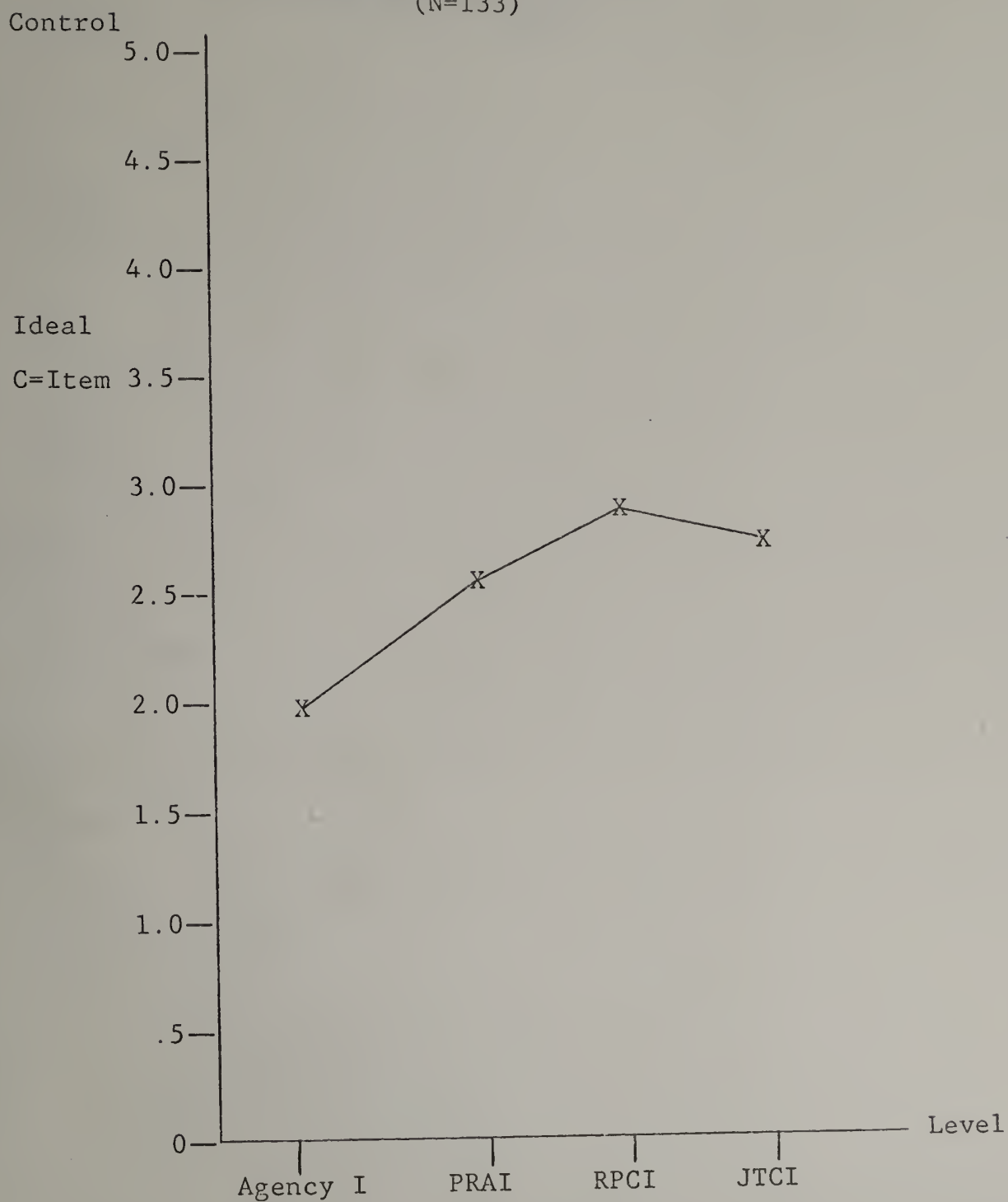
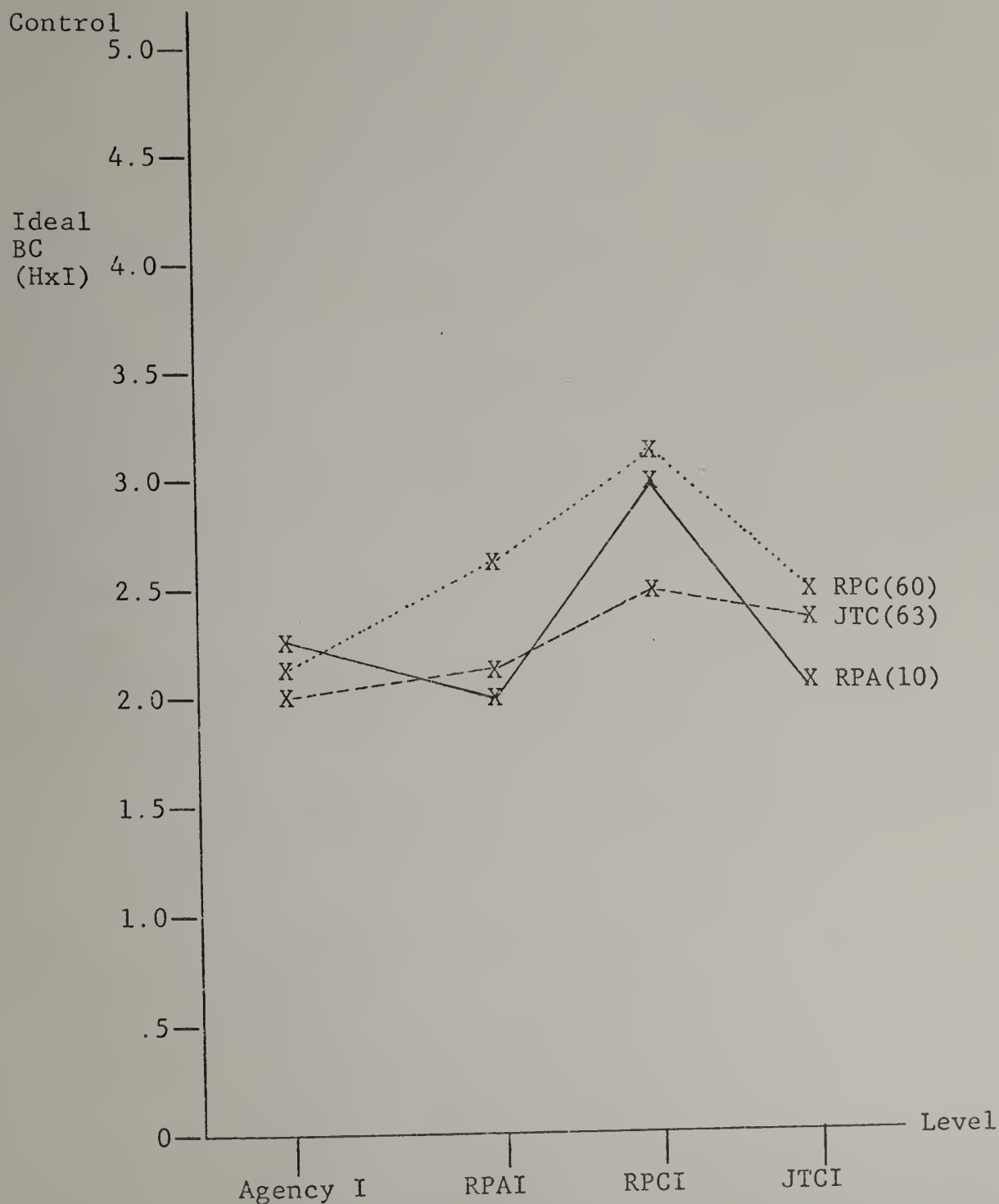




Figure 7

Ideal Influence in the Total Organization  
as Perceived by Regional Hierarchical Levels  
(N=133)



The three-way analysis of variance is presented in Table 4. In this hypothesis then, differences between total perceived amounts of real and ideal influence were tested by the main effect. Differences in slope were tested by the AC, AB, interaction. Finally, there were three dependent variables in the analysis which tested whether there was any difference between hierarchical levels or regions in perceived actual control, ideal control, and differences between the real and ideal perceptions of control. As can be seen in Table 4, there was no difference between hierarchical levels or regions as to the perceived differences between real and ideal influence. All agreed that there was a difference. This indicates that Middletown and the other regions tested were not different in their perceptions of participation in their organization. So null hypothesis 9 is rejected, and hypothesis 9 is supported.

#### Hypothesis 10

Hypothesis 10--Different bureaucratic hierarchical levels will have different perceptions of actual participation in decision making (as measured by Tannenbaum's Influence Questionnaire).

(i.e., the total amounts of control and slopes are equal.)

Null Hypothesis 10--Different bureaucratic levels within this organization will have similar perceptions of actual participation in decision making (that is, not significantly different), as measured by the Influence Questionnaire.

These hypotheses were tested with a two-way analysis of variance of hierarchy (4 levels) by item (4 levels), with three dependent variables (real perceived influence, ideal influence, and a difference score, ideal minus real) (N=148). The results of this analysis were presented in Table 5, Figures 8 and 9. For each dependent variable, differences in total control (control graph means) were tested by the main effect for hierarchy. Differences in slope (pattern of control) were tested by the AB (hierarchy and item) interaction effect (did the control graphs differ across hierarchical levels?).

As shown in Table 5, the main effect for hierarchy is not significant, supporting the first part of null hypothesis 10; levels do not differ in total amount of perceived actual control in the organization. However, the AB interaction is significant ( $F=3.11$ ,  $p<.001$ ). This means that the slopes of the active control graphs for the four hierarchical levels are significantly different. So while levels do not differ on perceived average control in the organization, they do disagree on the pattern of control. The latter is illustrated in Figures 8 and 9.

The null hypothesis is rejected and hypothesis 10 is supported.

TABLE 5  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF INFLUENCE  
RATINGS BY HIERARCHY AND ITEM

	Real		Ideal		Difference Ideal-Real	
	F	Prob	F	Prob	F	Prob
(Hierarchy) A	1.209	.309	.825	.482	0.322	.809
(Item) B	97.630	.000*	9.254	.000*	80.213	.000*
(H x I) AB	3.110	.001*	3.053	.001*	2.171	.023*

\*indicates statistical significance.

Figure 8

Actual Perceived Influence in the  
Total Organization  
(N=148)

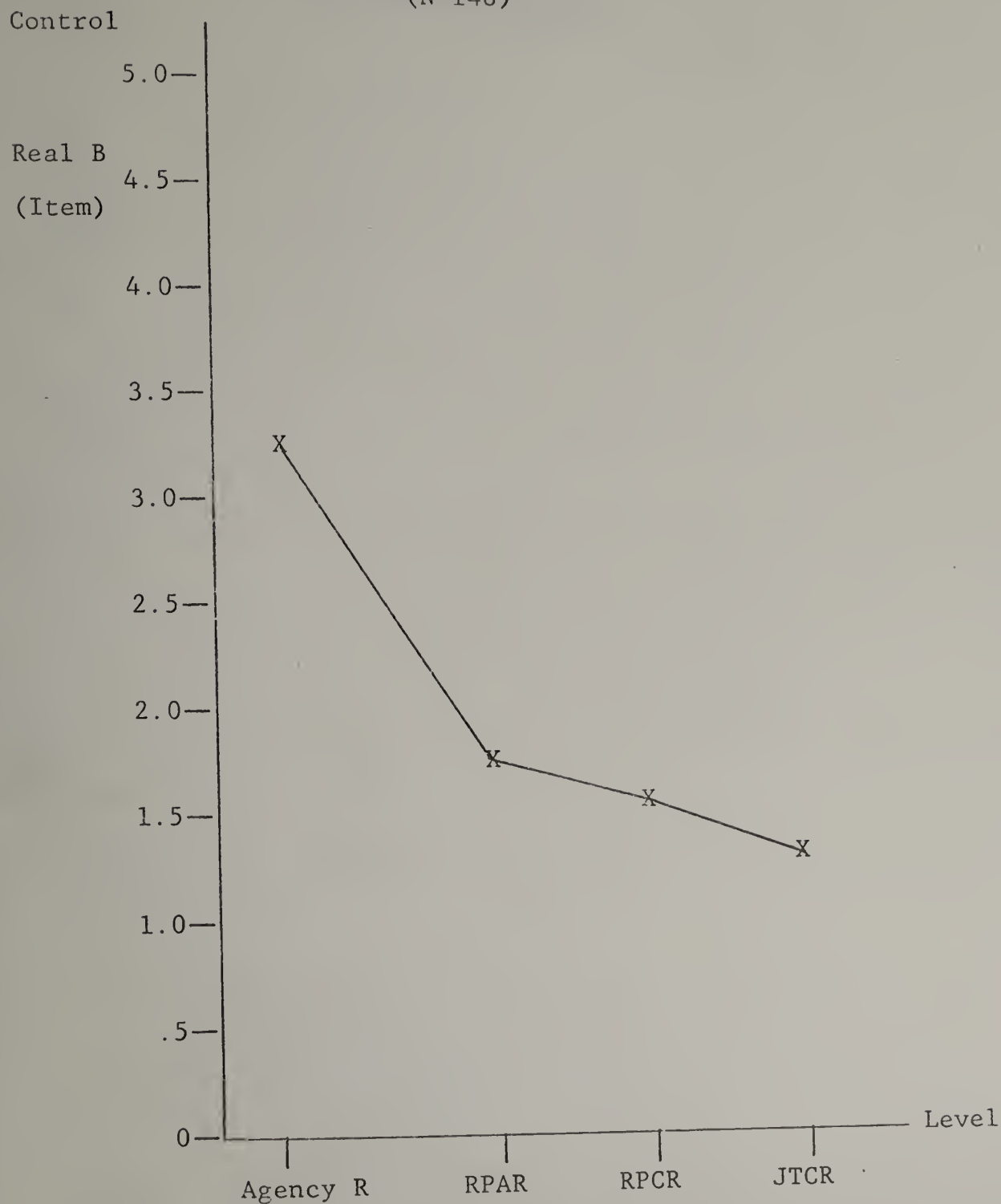
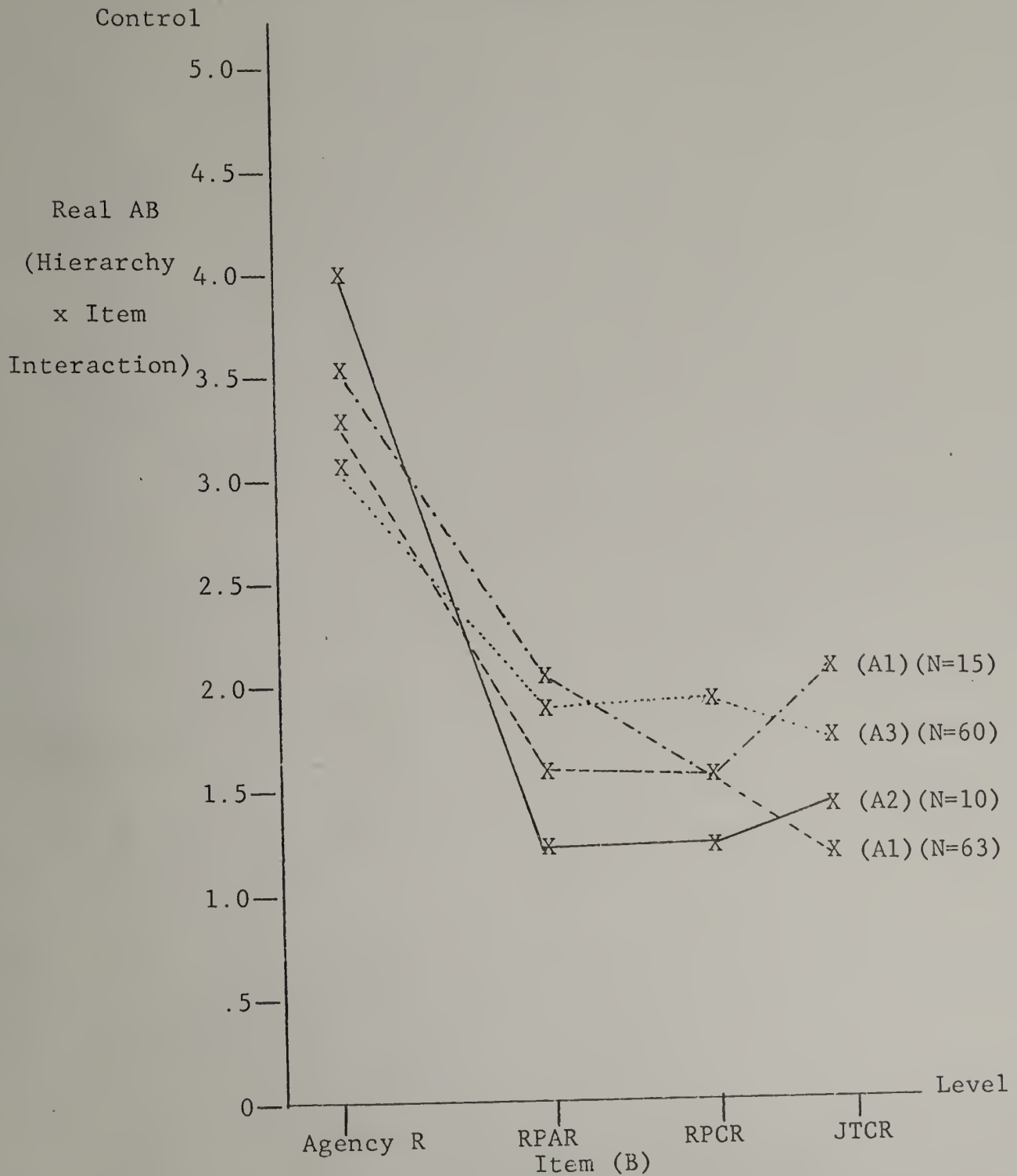




Figure 9

Actual Perceived Influence in the Total  
Organization by Four Hierarchical Levels



Hypothesis 11

Hypothesis 11--Different bureaucratic hierarchical levels will have different perceptions of ideal participation in decision making (as measured by Tannenbaum's Influence Questionnaire).

Null Hypothesis 11--Different bureaucratic levels within this organization will have similar perceptions of ideal participation in decision making (that is, not significantly different) as measured by the Influence Questionnaire.

(i.e., total amounts of ideal control and slopes are equal.)

This hypothesis was tested with a two-way analysis of variance of hierarchy (4 levels) by item (4 levels), with three dependent variables (real perceived influence, ideal perceived influence, and a difference score, ideal minus real), (N=148). The results of this analysis are presented in Table 5 and Figures 10 and 11. For each dependent variable, differences in total control (control graph means) were tested by the main effect for hierarchy. Differences in slope (pattern of control) were tested by the AB (hierarchy and item) interaction effected (did the control graphs differ across hierarchical levels in terms of ideal influence?).

Again, as shown in Table 5, the main effect for hierarchy is not significant, but the interaction effect is ( $F=3.05$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Again, disagreement is over the pattern of control across hierarchical levels. These differences are illustrated in Figures 10 and 11. Thus, null hypothesis 11 is rejected and hypothesis 11 is supported.

Figure 10

Ideal Perceived Influence in the  
Total Organization  
(N=148)

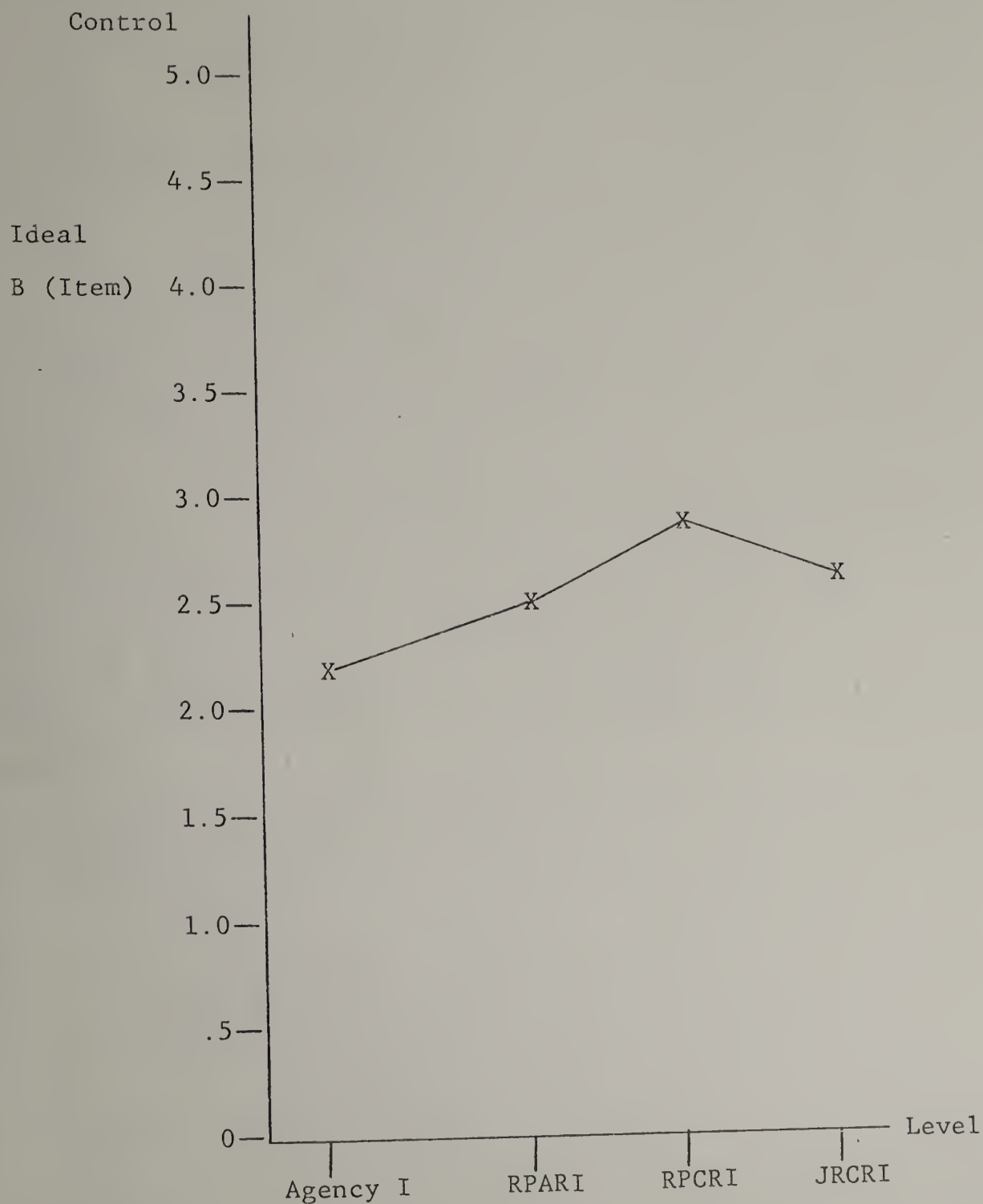
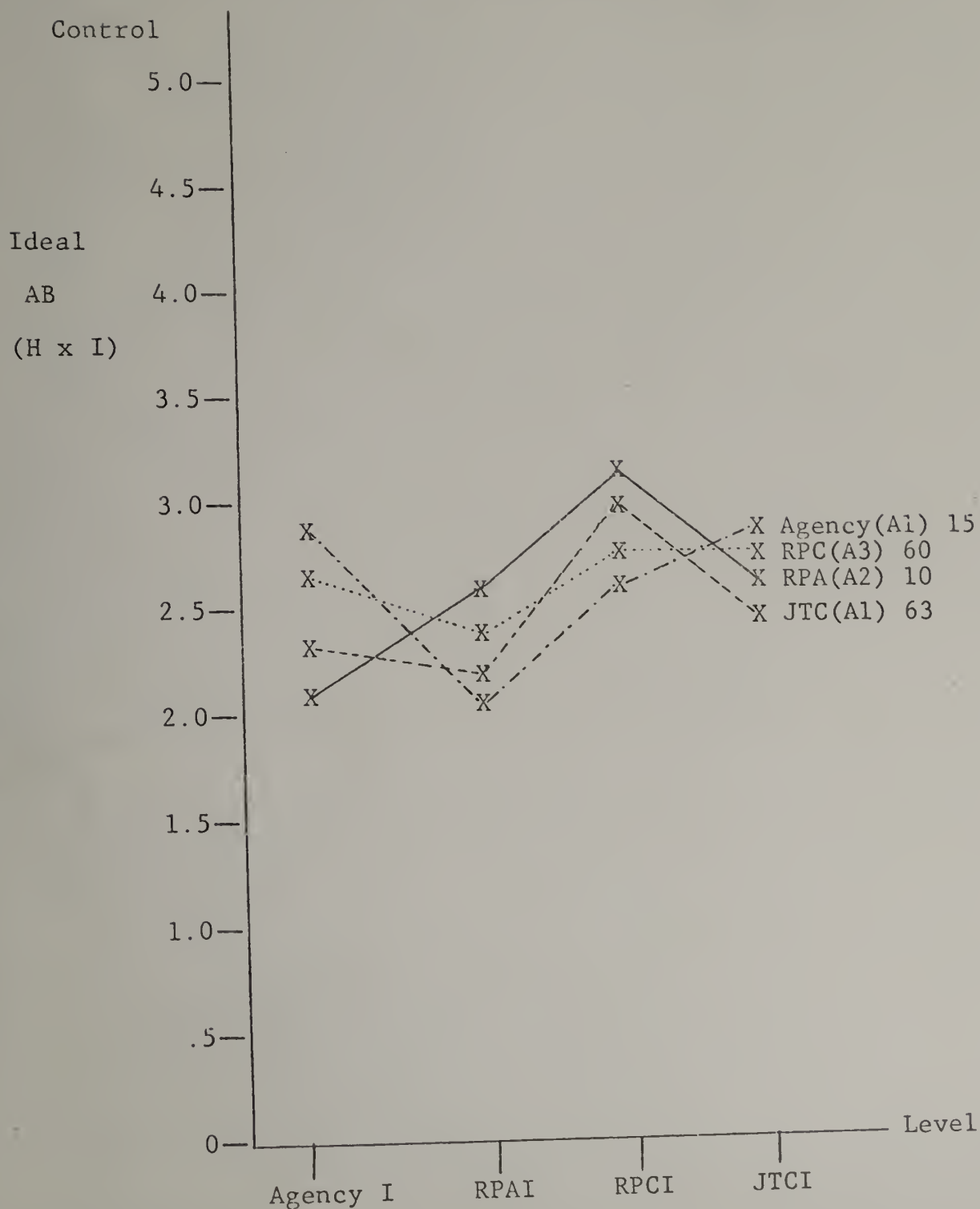


Figure 11

Ideal Perceived Influence in the Total  
Organization by Hierarchical Levels



## Hypothesis 12

Hypothesis 12--Participants in differing levels of this organization will perceive different differences between the real and ideal levels of participation each level perceives.

Null Hypothesis 12--Participants in differing levels of this organization will not perceive any difference in the differences between the real and ideal levels of participation.

(i.e., there is no disparity between level ratings of the difference between real and ideal control.)

This hypothesis was tested with a two-way analysis of variance of hierarchy (4 levels), by item (4 levels), with three dependent variables (real perceived influence, ideal perceived influence, and a difference score, ideal minus real), (N=148). The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 4 and 5 and Figures 12 and 13. For each dependent variable, differences in total control (control graph means) were tested by the main effect for hierarchy. Differences in slope (pattern of control P were tested by the AB (hierarchy and item) interaction effect (did the control graphs differ across hierarchical levels in terms of ideal influence?).

Once again, there is no difference between hierarchical levels in desired changes in total control, but the interaction effect is significant ( $F=2.171$ ,  $p<.023$ ), indicating that the hierarchical levels differ in their pattern of desired changes. These differences are

Figure 12

Mean Differences Between Ratings of  
Actual and Ideal Perceived Influence  
in the Total Organization  
(N=148)

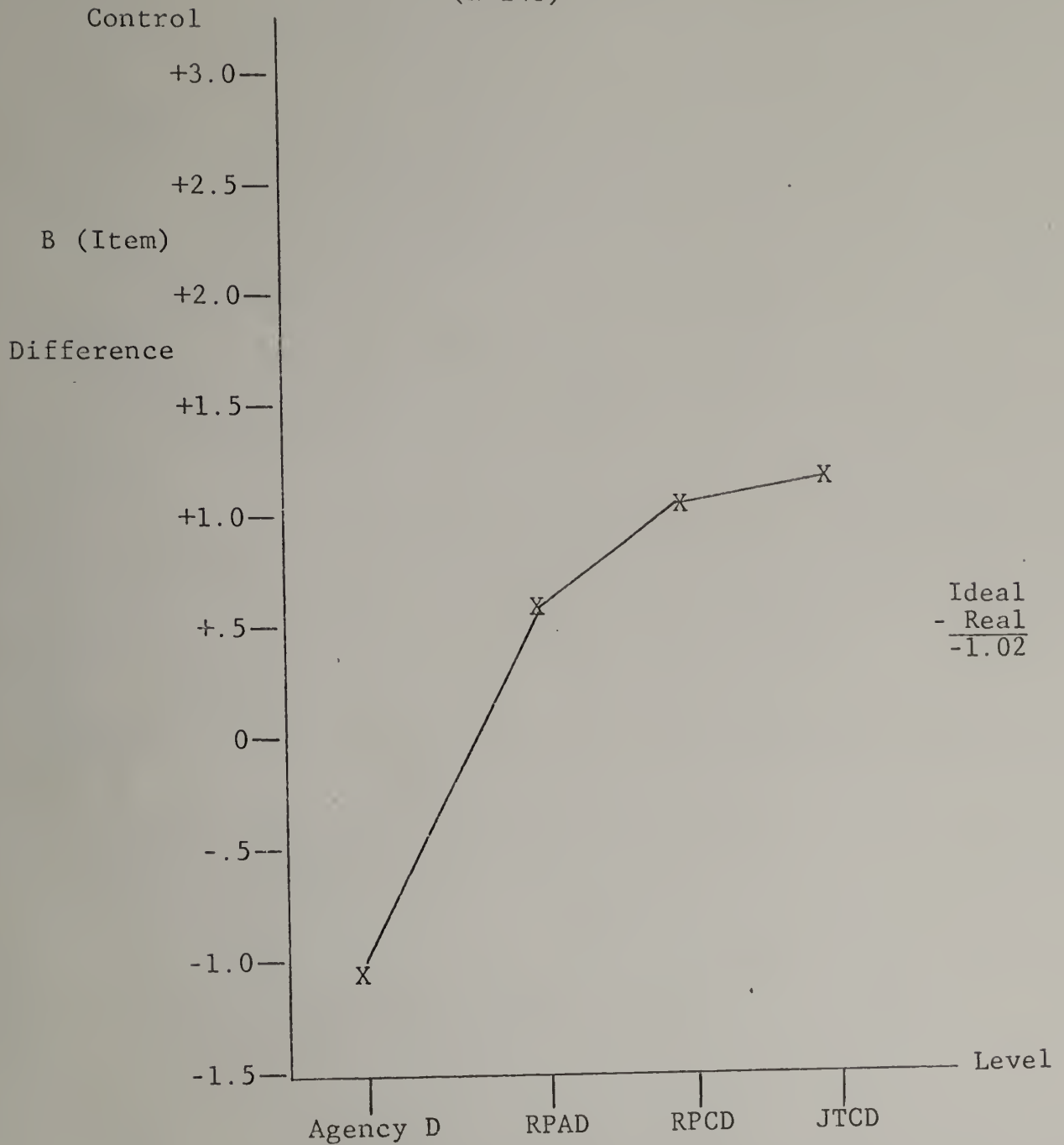
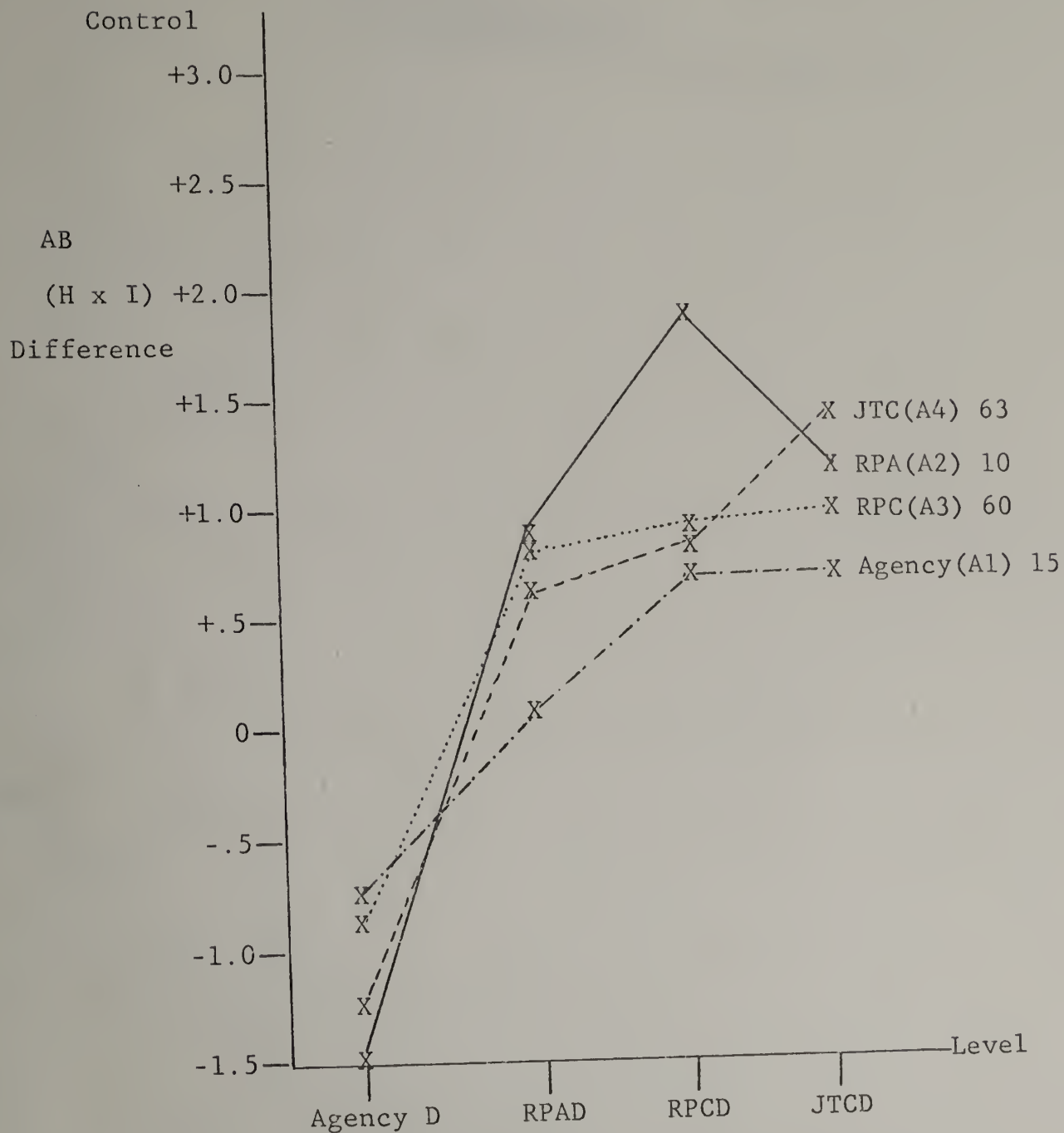




Figure 13

Mean Differences Between Ratings of Actual  
and Ideal Perceived Influence by  
Hierarchical Levels



illustrated in Tables 4 and 5 and Figures 12 and 13. Null hypothesis 12 is rejected and hypothesis 12 is accepted.

### Summary of the Data

The results of the data tested above focused around the real and ideal perceptions of control in four sections of hierarchical levels within the organization. These sections include the total organization, the Middletown region, three other regions, and levels within the organizational hierarchy.

In the total organization, the data places power within the organization at the top of the hierarchy. Members of this organization involved in participation would prefer to see power more evenly balanced in the hierarchy. The difference between the actual and the desired level of power is significant.

Members of the region from which the case was drawn (the Middletown region) also see control as presently being located at the top of the hierarchy. Ideally, they would prefer to see a more equalized configuration of power in that hierarchy. The difference between the actual and the desired level of power was significant.

The data of the several regions tested concerning participation support the impression of the Middletown region. All regions saw power in the total organization concentrated at the top of the hierarchy and indicated

that they preferred that it be more equalized. There was no difference between regions in regard to this perception. The data also made clear the difference between what regions want and what they have.

Finally, while there was no difference concerning the locus of control in the organization by region, there was by hierarchical level. Different hierarchical levels viewed control as being differently concentrated. In addition, ideal configurations of control were somewhat different by hierarchical level. There continued to be significant differences between actual and desired configurations of controls despite organizational levels, though these differences did change somewhat by level.

These differences related specifically to present power and changes in power. Presently the two top hierarchical levels, the Agency and the RPA see themselves as possessing less power than is assigned to them by the lower levels (RPC and JTC). Both the RPA and the Agency see the JTC as being the more powerful regional body. The RPC and JTC (both lower in the hierarchy) disagree. They feel that the RPC (which is a step higher in the hierarchy) possesses more influence than the JTC. This again, represents significant differences by hierarchical level. The average trend of the whole organization was towards a pyramidal structure.

In regards to ideal projections of influence in decision making, there were also significant differences. All parties expressed a desire for a reduction in the Agency's power. The Agency itself agreed but called for a far smaller change than did other levels. The same was true of the ideal status of the RPA. The lower levels of the hierarchy wished a general increase of influence at the regional level with the RPC's maintaining more power than the JTC's.

In total, ideal perceptions of hierarchical power were significantly different from real perceptions. The direction indicated by this differences was towards an equalization of power in the lower levels of the hierarchy, particularly in the citizen groups.

#### Observations on the Questionnaire Data

To analyze the data gathered from the questionnaires; in this organization, control in decision making is heavily concentrated at the top of the hierarchy. According to Tannenbaum, this is not congruent with a participative model of decision making.

The members of this organization, particularly those at lower levels would appear to agree with Tannenbaum. These members, who are involved with participatory groups, do not find such a structure congruent with their desires or definitions of public participation. This

dissatisfaction is clearly expressed in the contrast between real and ideal levels of influence chosen in the questionnaire. Members at lower levels want more influence.

This diagnosis seems to hold true for the region selected for the case study (thus supporting the diagnosis of that study's failure) as well as for the other regions tested. This suggests the wider internal validity of this observation.

While the desire for equalization or change in influence is a common pattern throughout the organization, there are some significant differences in opinion on specific points.

These differences become apparent in the interaction effects over items, by different hierarchical levels, and are mentioned previously in the summary of the data. Present power and changes in power are pinpointed as areas of significant differences by hierarchical level.

The positive difference in actual power assigned to the upper levels of the hierarchy by the lower levels is indicative of other misunderstandings between these groups. The Agency and RPA are both involved and invested in directing participatory attempts based on rhetorical definitions of participation. This author assumes that such a stance would lead them to define the phenomenon of



increasing upward communication as being unrealistically influential (the halo effect).

The disagreement expressed by lower levels concerning their actual status is indicative of the amount of influence in decision making they feel they actually practice. This contrasting feeling of a lack of power would be congruent with this author's diagnosis of these groups as proponents of the psychological and social-psychological definitions of participation.

In general, all members indicated some desire for a change in power distribution through the measure for ideal perceptions of influence. It can be assumed that the lower ratings for lower hierarchy recorded by the Agency and RPC is indicative of their continued expectations to influence those bodies. The relation described by the regional bodies for themselves is similar to their present relation. These citizen groups do indicate a desire for a significant shift in organizational control to their level. This shift is consistent with their expectations for social-psychological and psychological participation.

Both the summary of the data and the notes listed above essentially support the notion first proposed at the end of the case study, that the definition of participation at the state level is rhetorical. The definition of participation espoused by members of the organization



at lower levels becomes increasingly equalization oriented as one goes down the hierarchy. This supports the author's contention that the Agency holds a political definition, the RPA's hold organizational and mechanical definitions, and the RPC's and JTC's hold social-psychological definitions of participation.

Assuming that public participation, the equalization of influence in decision making, and a negative or straight hierarchical slope are positively related, it becomes apparent why the Agency's efforts at change in this direction are to date unsatisfactory. Real change is not supported or expected by the state level of the Agency, as illustrated through the data.

Conversely, those members of the lower part of the hierarchy who are involved in participative groups both desire and expect real change. They see this real change as being concentrated around power in decision making. The change which they desire is expressed in their ideal perceptions of influence in decision making.

This state of affairs indicates that this author's hypothesis is supported by the data.

Individuals will feel they are active participants in their own governance to the extent that they can influence decisions which affect them.

Those people whom participation pretends to include are people at the lower levels of the hierarchy. These people

will feel that they are participating to the extent that they are able to take part in the decisions which affect them. In this organization, decisions are concentrated at the top. Citizens state that they would prefer to participate to a greater extent in decision making. This discrepancy indicates an agreement with this author's hypothesis and some dissatisfaction with participation as it is practiced in this state.

The extent of this dissatisfaction with the lack of participation will be further explored in the next section of this chapter. In that section, data from interviews on that subject will be presented.

#### Data From the Interviews

Data was offered from the case study (Chapter IV) and the influence questionnaire. Further explorations of these same areas was achieved through taped interviews. The following section of this chapter offers this information.

#### Rationale

Key informants in the public participation process in the four regions and state bureau previously mentioned were given a taped interview in which they were asked to comment on public participation and decision making. These tapes were then reviewed with the following three questions as guides:

1. (a) What is participation really?  
(b) What is participation ideally?
2. Does the interviewee mention a connection between power/influence/control and the notion of public participation?
3. Is any mention made of who in the hierarchy has power? If so, who, and how much?

These interviews were originally taken in order to see if the citizens involved in this process in this state would see some connection between participation, power, and satisfaction, and exactly how she/he would define those terms. The literature makes reference on several occasions (French and Raven, Collins, Tannenbaum) to this connection, indeed assumes that it is a correct one, then goes on to use the assumption as the basis of the measure of participation by control. This author makes many of the same assumptions but recognizes a cognitive and theoretical leap that has not been filled in the research. While interviews do not present a controlled test of such a connection, they do give a more general feeling as to the reliability of that connection. The informer data from the above interviews will, therefore, be used to investigate whether there is a connection between control and participation in the everyday experiences of a bureaucracy, as perceived by the members of that bureaucracy. If this is true, then a measure of control would also measure participation.

Secondly, this information will be used to further clarify definitions of participation as used in the literature and to further isolate working assumptions on the subject in a bureaucracy.

Also, and in relation to the above questions, verbal description of where power is concentrated in this bureaucracy would to some degree act as an additional substantiation of the data collected from the control graph. Since this author listen to the tapes with the aide of an observer, before analyzing the control data, this analysis did not contaminate the perceptions of the same. (Although, interestingly, verbal descriptions in them told much the same story as the data analysis.)

Reports of the results of this interview will be presented by hierarchy (cross regional) in the form of a chart. Direct quotations will be used to give more detailed information, a more personal look into the responses given.

In a final note, the author is aware that such information is not carefully controlled and is fully aware of the implications of interviewer bias. This information, therefore, is presented in the form of supportive anecdotes, as this author nonetheless sees the information gathered by this method as extremely valuable, especially to the practitioner.

## The Process of Interviewing

One of the most conspicuous learnings in regard to these measurements was the difficulty of obtaining them. Despite the fact that this author took great pains to follow protocol and obtain personal acceptance and commitment, subjects seemed reluctant indeed to respond. Questionnaires were collected at monthly group meetings' arranged through the agenda. Interviews were personally arranged at geographical locations all over the state. In spite of these arrangements, the author had to make at least two separate trips to each location due to last minute cancellations (in each case, on the spot). Reluctance and suspicion over the questionnaire was prevalent, and especially with the public participation groups who felt the information might somehow be used against them (to thwart plans, or for purposes of punishment by those higher in the hierarchy). Interviews in general were more easily obtained and few fears were expressed. Perhaps, this was because there was no written document which might be used as a weapon by those possessing more power. However, in the course of the interviews, a standard pattern emerged in which the interviewee first responded in "text-book" fashion, then expressed fears of the material being used against them (and therefore a desire for anonymity) and finally, discussed their real feelings on the matter. On several occasions, interviewees blatantly



said that the author would have to realize that total honesty for them was impossible. These kinds of fears were notably absent (expressed) from the members of the Agency.

Such difficulties alone make the lack of inquiry into bureaucracies easily understandable (ignoring even organizational and political complexities) and doubtless account for an absence of such inquiries.

### Results of the Interviews

The Agency.--Of the three members of the Agency interviewed, one defined public participation as information input and two as the public sharing of decision making. All agreed that currently it consisted of input of information from the public into the agency that sometimes reappeared in decisions, and sometimes not. This seemed a developmental stage and future improvements were looked for. Ideally, one member saw public participation as being input from citizens that was listened to and reflected in projects, and two saw it as operationalizing of citizen opinions into decisions at appropriate levels. References to possession of power were polite and obscure (two mentioned it, one did not). All three stated that, however, at the present time, the Agency made the decisions.

The RPA.--Of the eight planners interviewed, six equated public participation with decision making and two



with information sharing. All agreed that it was not working correctly as yet, but had hopes for the future. Six felt that, in reality, public participation was information sharing that might or might not result in action. Two felt that it was strictly a public relations stunt. Ideally, six believed that the peoples input should be directly operationalized--appear in the form of decisions, goals, and projects. Two others felt this was true but that actual decisions should rest with the "impartial planner" (regional or Agency).

All planners mentioned power as an essential component of public participation and rated the Agency as having it all. All wanted power and decision making to be decentralized to a regional level.

The RPC.--Of the three RPC members interviewed, two felt that public participation could be defined as decision making and one viewed it as information sharing. Really speaking, all members agreed that they gave input, goals, and opinions to the Agency, but that decisions were made in Bigtown without necessarily being related to such goals. Ideally, all felt that public participation meant that regions should make decisions, and one further elaborated that for him, this meant the region would agree with Bigtown's decision (contradiction?). All three mentioned a connection between power and participation

TABLE 6

## CHART OF INTERVIEW INFORMATION

Region	Rank	PP=Information	PP=Decision	Public Participation (Real)	Public Participation (Ideal)	Mention Power Parti.	Who Has Power
Agency	Agency	X	X	Input of information into agency	Same as real except agency makes decisions based on that information	X	Agency
Agency	Agency		X	Some information and input from the public which is sometimes used	Input of citizens operationalized in projects or null contracts		Agency Makes Dec.
Agency	Agency		X	Information input and public relations	Shared decision making by level with a structure to accommodate large numbers	X	Agency
B <sup>1</sup>	RPA	X		Information input, not enough decentralization	Citizen has access to planning decision by input through the RPA	X	Agency
F <sup>1</sup>	RPA		X	Planners get an idea and present it, people can voice their opinion over this by region	Amelioration. Cooptation. Information input	X	Agency
LVP <sup>1</sup>	RPA	X		Advisory body, public relations	Public forms goals from which decisions are made at regional level	X	Agency
M <sup>1</sup>	RPA		X	Rhetoric	Public has their say on projects which show up in decisions	X	Agency

TABLE 6 (continued)

Region	Rank	PP=Infor- mation	PP=Deci- sion	Public Participation (Real)	Public Participation (Ideal)	Mention Power Parti.	Who Has Power
B <sup>2</sup>	RPA		X	Some people give input and are somewhat heard	People directly involved in planning and decision making, regions do this	X	Agency
F <sup>2</sup>	RPA		X	Information gathering public relations	People should have decision power & work through RPA	X	Agency
LPV <sup>2</sup>	RPA		X	Reports that may or may not be attended to	People involved in goal setting throughout the process. Region makes decisions from these goals	X	Agency
M <sup>2</sup>	RPA		X	Letting off steam	Opinions of people reflected in projects decided on a region-wide basis	X	Agency
B	RPC		X	Commissioner makes decisions	Regions, using participation should make decisions	X	Agency
LPV	RPC		X	State makes decisions with some input from regions	Regions make decisions based on opinions of the public	X	Agency
M	PRC	X		People agree to Agency projects	RPA/RPC/Agency make decisions for the region and inform the people of them	X	Agency
B	JTC		X	Voluntary information sharing rabble rousing	Public gives information and opinions that effect some change	X	Agency

TABLE 6 (continued)

Region	Rank	PP=Infor- mation	PP=Deci- sion	Public Participation (Real)	Public Participation (Ideal)	Mention Power Parti.	Who Has Power
LPV	JTC	X		Citizens give information that is somewhat listened to. Are protected by Feds from Agency	People give input and their concerns are responded to	X	Agency
M	JTC		X	Cooptation. RPA and Agency tell us what to do. They fool us	The public is heard from, solicited. Their opinions are acted upon	X	Agency

and all agreed that at present, the Agency possessed all the power in the organization.

The JTC.--Two members in this group agreed strongly that public participation equated with decision making, and one felt that it was limited to information output. All three agreed that presently, public participation consisted of information input in an upward flow, and that they were not listened to. One felt this was not cooperative, another described it as cooptation, and another felt that the only power the JTC possessed in the organization was that which it could muster from the outside in the form of rabble-rousing. Ideally, one felt that participation meant input on the opinions of the public that would truly be listened to by those making the decisions, in this sense that the mandate of the public would be the decision, if by proxy. Two felt that ideally participation meant regional total control. All three members very clearly expressed a connection between successful public participation. All three felt very clearly and adamantly that at present, the Agency possessed all or the majority of, the power in the organization (decision making or otherwise).

### Analysis of the Interviews

Despite the fact that the questions for the taped interviews focused on three specific areas of state involvement in public participation (public participation



definitions, the 3-C process, and public participation and decision making) the chart of information gathered from the interviews visualizes responses in extremes. Interviews with all subjects seemed to deal in a simultaneous and related way with all the questions and sub-areas asked about. Opinions seemed to be fairly polarized on any given subject, there was much agreement on one pole of each continuum (a trend) and influence was mentioned a great deal in relation to all questions.

It follows that these subjects, then, are closely related, and rather than being conceptualized as separate and distinct topics, really form a continuum of governmental/bureaucratic operation concerning the mission of the lowest echelon of that organization (the public). This continuum can be visualized using its two extremes. The first reference of this mission is seen as information input and legwork, and the other is seen as influence in decision making. The preponderance of opinion was weighted towards decision making as the "correct" mission. In contrast to this, the majority of opinion viewed the upper reaches of the hierarchy as having the most general power and decision making power, with other levels having considerably less. Much description by the interviewees here supports the notion that this thing "power" is equated with the "successful" or "ideal" or "desired" image of public participation (which would be decision making by the public).



It is also clearly stated that that is not currently operational, that the upper reaches have the most power, the lower the least, and descriptions of various kinds of power are described in detail in the interviews (and consequently in selected quotations).

This discrepancy is then supported by the judgment of the interviewees as to how the process of public participation is currently going. Almost to a person, this is seen as, at present, being unsuccessful in terms of the ideal (but not hopeless).

TABLE 7  
PARTICIPATION

INFORMATION	POWER/DECISIONS
Power at <u>top</u> levels	Power at <u>all</u> levels
Real ( <u>how it is</u> —public participation)	Ideal ( <u>how it ought to be</u> , public participation)
<u>Fewest</u> people want this	<u>Most</u> people want this

The above figure describes the continuum mentioned previously. It will be noticed that the cross between the real and the ideal, between what most people want and what they've got, is similar to the interaction effects presented in the data analysis between real and ideal items.

## Interviews: Supporting Quotations

Table six analyzed the tapes according to several points; definitions of participation, the description, connection, and analysis of power/influence/decision-making in regard to these definitions, the regions and levels of the hierarchy, and support for these two in terms of the present status of public participation in this state. These points will be further expanded upon by the following quotations taken from the interviews.

### Definitions of Public Parti- cipation (Information Sharing or Sharing of Decision Making

#### Information

" . . . The public feels we are all just advisory bodies so their work is not effective. We are not where the decisions are made. . . decisions are made by the state and feds and they are elsewhere. . . people feel that in dealing with a JTC they are dealing with something with limited power. . . . I cannot deny this."

" . . . Public participation is information sharing and input into this agency. The information is used to prioritize ideal projects. Right now it's not working fully. . . we are trying to educate the agency, but it is used to authoritarianism and doesn't want to change. The public is also used to this and so doesn't want to get involved. . . participation is input and the agency still makes all the decisions, there is no legal power given to the lower levels. . . ."

" . . . Public participation is an information sharing device perhaps to help the citizen reach acceptance of a decision. I wish it were decision sharing but I haven't been able to figure out how to make it that. . . ."

". . . We are here to have people accept projects. I think public participation is working. Since we instituted this here we've hardly had to say no to the Agency on anything. It used to be that the Agency had to go to court a lot, but not so much now. . ."

## Decision Making

". . . They are saying that if they (Agency) have the public say on issues at the level of the JTC, they will influence decisions. However, I don't believe it. It's not working at this point. I think input on decisions should come from all people. This should come after total information from the Agency. . .and they should provide all the information. Regions should make the decisions because we have to live with them. . ."

". . . It has to be a public thing, you have to effect some change in your locality, have some influence over your life. . .we're really a window dressing to fulfill federal guidelines. . ."

". . . All citizens should be involved in whatever way they can, find out their feelings, what they would like. They should be involved--at least they should have a way of getting feedback from them. People are not being heard from. They talk to each other, but not where it should be heard. Some people are not verbal. They can't complain til they hurt so bad they scream. . .they don't believe they'll be heard no matter what they do or say. It's a long uphill struggle. In my experience this year, I find that people who have power don't really want to hear from the public, they want to say, 'all right, I'm going to take care of you, keep quiet and don't do anything'. . ."

". . . The quality of interaction at any level will tell you whether public participation is effective. Responses to concerns expressed must show up in decisions and projects or its just a window dressing. . ."

". . . No matter what was happening in a region, as long as the public concerned with that felt they had a way of having their points of view heard and acted on, then it'd be good public participation. . . if after the decision is made, there are still disgruntled citizens who feel they didn't have a say in that decision, I would say it isn't working. . ."

" . . . Public participation is when ordinary citizens have the opportunity to become directly involved in planning and decision making, involved means to be apprised and aware of what's going on in planning process at the time and for them to respond to it so that planners will consider and implement the views of the concerned citizen from the beginning of the whole process, not just at the end. . . ."

" . . . Citizens should be involved in all phases of decision making--they should have a say. This way not just militant decisions will represent involvement. In making decisions, people recognize their responsibility in making proper decisions. It's not just saying, 'I don't like something'. . . ."

#### Power/Influence/Control/ Decision Making

" . . . Those who are in the JTC sit and talk and make recommendations and get written up in the newspaper--they feel an implied power. But they'll never get anything done but get their 3-cents in. . . .so they can verbally eat the Agency alive. . . .so they can delay some things from happening. . . .but they have no positive power and even the no doesn't last. It's only the power to forestall. If the Agency is out to fight, they win. We do keep them fighting though, but they have it all, the power and the money. To really go against them would be to be involved in a revolution. If no one else had any more power than anyone else, it would be an easy movement back and forth (public participation). But the Agency has so much, its a tremendous effort for the little guy to keep fighting. By the way, you're going against a whole big bureaucracy, a whole gambling operation. You won't change it, till you've changed the people in it. . . ."

" . . . The Agency has a four out of five in influence, we don't. . . ."

" . . . The fact is that here (in the Agency) it used to be done (decisions) in back rooms. The fact is, once you open the Pandora's box, you don't get it back (power). We did this because it was a political thing, and because it was a sudden change, with so many people, it hasn't permeated yet. . . .it took 50 years to get this way and is not going to be changed over night. . . . There's a substantial lack of



sympathy for having towns and regions into the decision making process. People are afraid they're going to lose power by having people take part. They are going to though, which is perfectly proper, and as it should be. . ."

". . . There's a lot of power involved, hell, yes. The people in Bigtown had to do it, it was a federal requirement. But they can easily control it. They have all the money. They don't let the regions get too uppity--too much power. There will be no shift of money from Bigtown to here, forget it. Never. And we don't have the money to start to play the power games. . ."

". . . Which means that the state really is the power I mean, we have a voice but we are not one of the lead voices and that is demoralizing and takes some of the wind out of the sails of the members. . ."

". . . Who makes decisions how? The commissioners, the Agency. Ideally, he'd make it with input from the JTC and the RPC. . ."

". . . Those who were involved in making decisions in the past were interested in personal power. The point of public participation is that a larger number of people get it. . .influence is a necessary part of life, but that's another kind of power. Like, I'd like to see the public swaying decisions, and yet that's not happening. . ."

". . . Power is what they're concerned with, and they don't want anyone nibbling away at it. They say they'll tell you but they really don't want to say the truth--they just want to do what they want. . ."

". . . Whoever has the dollars makes decisions. The state and federal government. The state makes decisions, has its own road funds. If it had the decision, it has the power. I would prefer to see regions and towns have it, but that's unrealistic because they don't have the money. In this country, that's the way it is. . ."

". . . There's a lot of resistance in the Agency, and they have a lot of power, powerful weapons, a good track record at being able to harness us with great finesse. They can do that control of us with money and time. They can delay things, and say, 'put it in writing.' (Though we do have a little

more than we did before.) Lower level bureaucrats at the Agency can also stop the process by running you around and making you go through the hoops. They do that so they can discredit the process. You're so busy running around, you can't put your whole effort into the process. So they can turn around and tell you, 'we told you it wasn't going to work' and then they can bring that back to the state. The new administration is doing that. They're happy as hell about it, and I'm not. . ."

". . . The state keeps saying that the RPC really doesn't matter and has no power, only the RPA, we keep telling them it's not true, it's supposed to be the other way around. . ."

". . . There are people who are not crazy about public participation. They liked it the old way--mostly they're in the Agency. When the people say absolutely no to a project, it doesn't really stop them, it just delays them (Agency) for a while. . ."

". . . Agency has the most to say about decisions made, because they're doing the job and coming up with the bucks. . ."

". . . The Agency has the power through processing of contracts and policy setting in Bigtown. It has the dollars and so has total power. The feds have slightly less. The RPA should make the decisions. . ."

". . . You can't tell the Agency no, because it has all the money and bulldozers. So to a certain degree, you do this, and you become a whore for the Agency because they've got all the money. . ."

". . . People believe the Agency is politically motivated and will make the final decision. . ."

". . . The Agency has the most influence because no one can do anything without money--local towns and the public should have the most influence--they don't now. . ."

". . . We are voluntary, so we are not as vulnerable to punishment, like the RPC and RPA. The state has a way of withholding money, processing paperwork, making life difficult in Bigtown. . ."



" . . . You have to represent regional views to the Agency very diplomatically--they're paying us and have the power to say 'no more funds for you'. . ."

" . . . Problems? Sure. There is no commitment from the other section of this agency. That won't stand for long. But now they have a way to work and don't want to involve the public to avoid criticism they hold all the information until the end of a project. All the drafts are secret and kept under lock and key until the draft is out. It's even a major production when we want to see it. . .there are also fears of investigation, a lot of paranoia. . .politics, corruption, I don't know, fear of change. Oh, man, everywhere they're afraid of that, of blacks, women, of public participation. . .of non-engineers, non-planners. A lot of them are doing a good job. They don't know what they would be doing and are afraid of pushing paper and doing nothing. This is a positive fear. There are a lot of other negative fears too. Maybe they're insecure because they worked their way up. . ."

### How It's All Going

" . . . Citizens' opinions should have a lot of effect on decisions made. Here it does seven out of ten times (in this region). It's only five or less times out of ten in the rest of the state. Even less with the state itself. . ."

" . . . The best perspective in planning is the regional one. . ."

" . . . The role of the RPA is to help the Agency in the region and to watch out for the region's interest. . ."

" . . . Something has to happen at the state and local levels to make participation work. It's working here in this region now (with the people). But it's not working with the state, between us and the state. . ."

" . . . We would like to be better informed when they are doing things in the region. . .we've had problems in communication. . . . They just forget. . . its because for 200 years they've been accustomed to do what they wanted, satisfied their own missions (as long as the legislature gave them money). This reporting back to us is new. So they forget. Funding is a problem. . .the state doesn't seem to get it

together enough. Out of one side of their mouth they speak of public participation, statewide programs, on the other side, they don't give us money. There is a lot of rhetoric--words about grandiose things, but--the fact of the matter, the money--doesn't happen. . ."

". . . The JTC is indeed just an advisory group, right now the power resides in the state. . ."

". . . Right now, ultimate decisions are made by the state, not us. They have the money and the mandate. . ."

". . . It's not working now, but it has potential. Participation would work if the Agency got out of it. . ."

". . . I think that some resistance occurs when anyone is asked to give up part of their domain. RPC might become stronger in the state because of public participation. There are people in the state who are adamant about not wanting that--we're trying to change that--I'm referring to the conservatism/malignancy within the civil service employment--if power continues to decentralize then they imagine they'll be out of a job--it's an unrealistic fear that that would happen, but they fear it. . ."

". . . These guys from the state come to us and talk a lot about programs, we're innocent and make up a program--we bring it to the guy fourteenth down the ladder and he says 'what the hell is this?' Maybe I stall a year, wait, and maybe they scuttle the idea. . . practically it means you can't gear up, its the lack of trust (state government people will even tell you, they can't guarantee anything till that contract is signed. . ."

". . . Agency used to be nailed every time it came out from behind a tree. Then it decided to let a local public group get nailed. So it said, 'you guys are making our decisions. You take all the flack and when you get all of it squared away (providing you do it the way we want you to do it) come on in with the decision'. That's the way it is. . ."

". . . I think its a great law! . . . I think the bureaucrats have screwed it up. . . people who do things to change the work have to say to the people, 'hey, I'm horsing around with your life'. . ."

". . . I think public participation is going real well here in the region. My big problem is I don't have enough time. . ."

". . . I think there ought to be a small shop who looks around a lot and studies a lot and presents suggestions and ideas to the public for planning. That's good. But right now, if the answer to their presentation is no, the world falls in because those bureaucrats have invested so much time. Ideally, they ought to go home and start all over again. But that's not the way it is. . ."

". . . Agency says they want public participation, but that is lip service only, they just wish the JTC would go away and leave them alone. . ."

". . . Ideally, public participation is the ordinary citizen on the street contributing their views to make decisions, actually, its institution-alized groups making input into the process and submitting reports that may or may not be attended to. . ."

". . . I want to be heard. . . I don't think anything we've said at the JTC has made any difference. . . . They (the Agency) say, 'we will just sit them out and make that road in the end'. . ."

". . . This state is trying hard to widen and operationalize public participation. . . . Not succeeded yet, but its trying. . ."

". . . The public was told they could participate, they tried and they were squelched. I will not participate any longer. I will go another way. . ."

### Summary

The data from the influence questionnaire, and taped interviews coincide with the findings of the case study to support the general hypothesis of this paper:

Individuals will feel that they are active participants in their own governance to the extent that they can influence or make decisions that effect them.

That sample of the citizens of the state involved in attempts at public participation in the Agency did not feel that they were participating or that participation was working in this organization. This was supported by quotes and data from the interviews. The data from the questionnaires indicated that this was so because of a distinct lack of influence for the lower levels of this hierarchy in decision making. Finally, the case study presented an active example of an aborted attempt at public participation in which these forces were operating.

## C H A P T E R   S I X

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Introduction

This final chapter will present a summary of the study which is the basis of this paper and conclusions reached on the matter. In addition, some suggestions concerning public participation will be given.

#### Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine common definitions and theories of public participation and its implementation, especially in complex government agencies. In order to do this, a general hypothesis on the nature of public participation was first drawn from the literature. A project in public participation by a government agency was then chosen as the field in which to test the hypothesis. In order to do this, the general hypothesis was broken down into working hypotheses appropriate to the case at hand. Methods chosen for evaluating the applicability of the hypothesis to the situation were a questionnaire (which was administered to a general sample of the subject organization) and taped interviews (which were administered to key informants in the same areas.



in which the questionnaires were distributed). Results of the evaluations indicated that the hypothesis was supported by the data.

Summary of the Conclusions  
of This Study

In order to present the conclusions, it is necessary to restate the hypothesis of this paper:

Individuals will feel that they are active participants in their own governance to the extent that they can effect, influence, make decisions that affect them.

This hypothesis was drawn from a body of literature that was diverse and often contradictory. Within it, three of the few common threads that ran through the literature were combined; public participation, decision making, and power.

In applying this hypothesis to this specific case study, a state bureaucracy engaged in an attempt to implement public participation in its governance and decision making, some general conclusions that supported it were arrived at. Namely, a contradiction in definitions of the term "public participation" held by different members of the organization. This contradiction contributed to an impasse in action within this project. Such an impasse contributed to the maintenance of the status quo and the present power structure. It thus encouraged failure in participation. This conclusion was supported

by information from the participants of the study to the effect that the power structure of the organization was top heavy and did not seem to be changing. This was contrasted against the desires of the general members of the organization, who wanted an equalization of power and decision making within the structure. This supports the general hypothesis in that a significant number of members of the organization did not feel that public participation was successful because they did not have an adequate share of the power and influence in decision making. Thus, the case study also supported the connection of control/influence/power and public participation.

### Recommendations

In giving recommendations derived from the study, this author will answer two possible questions: How should an interventionist proceed in a project on public participation and should efforts at public participation be attempted at all?

In answer to the first question, this author will present five crucial elements for the interventionist to be aware of in such an effort:

1. analyze the existing situation first;
2. know and remain aware of the politics of the situation;
3. education and change is a basic tool;
4. multi-directional communication is essential;
5. practice what you preach.

It is essential to analyze the location first. It may be assumed that the interventionist has been requested to take part by a presumably interested organization. Readiness (or sincerity) for a public participatory change must first be assessed. A crucial ingredient in readiness is (if this is a typical hierarchy) the willingness of those currently possessed of decision making power to relinquish it, and of those without it to assume it. This information can be acquired through data gathering on real and ideal perceptions of control, this history of the organization, and diagnostic interviews by members on all levels of the organization concerning the organizations ability to change.

While the interventionist is gathering the data mentioned above, and should the data prove positive, during the course of the intervention it is essential for her/him to be knowledgeable about and remain aware of, the politics of the people and the situation. This is particularly important in bureaucracies where elections, appointed offices and electorates make tenuous the positions of many members. The act of representation, of politics, is a given role for members of such an organization and will dictate their behavior. The internal operations of the organization itself will be effected as well since members represent their constituencies (who will reward or punish them) and tend to operate with

this in mind. Thus, hidden competition, and wiley tactics are a standard not to be ignored. The politically naive interventionist who is concerned only with the task at hand (trying to remain neutral and insisting on the value-free benefits of her/his task) and not with the field in which the task is imbedded will be both naive and a failure. This is true because no task is value free. It will benefit or penalize some sort of the organization. The interventionist is also clearly exhibiting her/his own values by taking part in the action to begin with. Thus; it is natural that the interventionist will also be seen as an enemy by some and an ally by others. The interventionist is a political entity.

So, bearing in mind that intervention in such a situation is, to some degree advocacy, it becomes necessary to examine how people can accept the public participation point of view. In public participation, this will include all members of the organization. And, since participation consists of power sharing, not competition (which is cultural, traditional, and almost inherent in our culture) the interventionist may assume that much training, re-training, or education will be necessary. Such education efforts will be both long and short term (particularly if this change is viewed not as a fad, but as a social change). Short term efforts will consist of information sharing, re-education on organizational behavior,

and discussion groups for re-training for present members of the organization to show what participation is, exactly how it will impact them, what they can do about it. This will increase feelings of power and lessen those of fear (a chief block in such a change, for security is threatened). The last step in this process would be the widespread use of media for education, information, positive image and recruitment. Many citizens do not participate because they are totally unaware of the opportunity, or unsure about what they would do. Long term (and more meaningful) educational efforts would have to start with children in schools, rearranging their learning environment so that independent behavior was encouraged as well as its integration with responsible community behavior. The development of positive and strong self concept would be essential too, in order for children who could develop into adults, sure of their ability to possess, handle, and share power, to collaborate instead of compete. That is, adults who were unafraid, as compared to the present crop.

While education and informing people in and out of the organization on public participation (knowledge is a sure way to reduce resistance, which is usually fear) the interventionist would probably be working on the implementation of the project itself. Until education was well along, it would be wise to do little indeed in this area, however. Public participation consists of members



of the public and the organizational hierarchy taking part in the decision making and implementation. This must also be true of the intervention process. An interventionist who introduces a discrepancy into the process by doing for the citizens instead of with them, may save time, but will also be assuring the failure of the effort. People only participate in what they understand and want, and only accept what they themselves do. This may be frustrating, but it is, nonetheless, true.

Complete communication is the aim of public participation too. Most hierarchies have one way, upward communication (if that) because information is power. Sharing information is sharing power. It is a visible demonstration of the success of a public participatory effort, as well as a measure with which to gauge the progress of such an effort. This kind of communication, must be taught, modeled, and insisted upon. The interventionist is the prime mover in this, and can begin by making quite clear to all members that information given to her/him is general information (though not necessarily with the name of the speaker attached).

In moving on to the second question--should one attempt public participation at all? This author feels that one realistic prediction is possible; no total success in public participation in the United States (except, perhaps,

in a small, private organization) is possible. The question then arises, is some participation better than none at all?

Explaining further the first part of this statement, this author will refer readers to the typical bureaucracy in the United States. It is large, old, centralized, powerful, entrenched in a system of civil service, and embedded in a mass society. To assume that people in power will run to give it up, and others take it (even if they knew how) is unrealistic. Nobody gives away power unless they are sure there is something in it for them. This "something" will depend on their value system. Thus, such incentives to change would have to be almost individually structured and few interventionists have the resources to accomplish this. At least, this author found the above statements to be true in the bureaucracy in which she was an intervenor and believes that the diagnosis is generalizable.

Assuming that the above is true, are partially successful attempts at public participation worth doing? Well, partial participation is partial social change and there are at least two opinions about social change.

The first opinion is that social change is a long, slow evolutionary, behavioral process. This kind of change would be introduced in small, incremental steps or changes in the process. Sometimes this would mean one

step forward and two steps back. Changes would only be noticeable over a time span of perhaps decades. If the interventionist holds this view of change, then yes, public participation is worth doing. But if the interventionist believes this, he/she is also buying into a long term process and the maintenance (to a large extent) of the status quo.

The second opinion about social change, particularly about change dealing with the public participation and the equalization of power derives from the opinion expressed above that people don't just give up their power. If this is true, then partial successes at public participation are simply gestures by organizations and bureaucracies. Gestures that coopt citizens, robbing them of motivation, positive self concept, and personal power, by continually promising them the realization of these things and then causing them to fail in the realization.

Such gestures maintain the status quo and accentuate it; as the saying goes, "to them that has, it shall be given, to them as has not, it shall be taken away." If this second opinion is held by the interventionist, it would be best to abstain from collusion in such efforts.

The above section on recommendations presented some items which this author considered necessary for the interventionist in public participation to consider before,

during, and after the event. They included points on what to do if you are presented with a public participatory effort in which to take part, and points to think of in the abstract, concerning public participation. In the first instance, such points included analysis of the situation, knowledge of politics, educational efforts, multi-directional communication, and guidelines for interventionist efforts in the process. In the second instance, the reader was presented with two arguments (based on beliefs about social change) which argued for either engaging or not engaging in such an effort. This paper will conclude with this author's stand on these two arguments.

#### Final Statement

It is the opinion of this author, after experiencing and analyzing an attempt at public participation in a bureaucracy in the United States, that attempts at participation are not productive. Chances of success at such a venture are, as mentioned above, only partial (at the optimum). Like Friere (1971), it is this author's belief that social change dealing with the equalization of power in decision making, in public participation, can only be accomplished by the people themselves, at their own instigation. It is only in this way that people will be able to truly feel ownership, to feel free, powerful. Efforts

by bureaucracies to implement public participation are paternalistic (since they imply that this is something which had to be done for or to the citizen since they are incapable of achieving it themselves) and in actuality, only cooptation. This cooptation is done for the purpose of maneuvering the citizens, masses, into a quiescent state. Thus, the citizen remains powerless and the bureaucracy powerful. Worse still, the bureaucracy can say, "we tried, it just doesn't work. What can you do with them. . .?" and the citizen can maintain that he/she truly has no power, is indeed congenitally incapable of effecting her/his environment. Thus, further efforts by the citizen in this direction are unlikely. Such implicit reinforcement of individual and group negative self concept is destructive in the extreme.

It is for this reason that this author, as an interventionist and a citizen, agrees with a statement expressed previously by one of the members of the organization in an interview ". . .the public was told they could participate, they tried and they were squelched. I will not participate any longer. I will go another way. . ."



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alinsky, Saul. *Reveille for Radicals*. New York: Random House, 1967.
- Andrews, I. and Bragg, J. "Participative Decision Making: An Experimental Study in a Hospital." *JABS*, Vol. 9, No. 6, November-December 1973, 727-735.
- Argyris, Chris. *Intervention Theory and Method*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1970.
- Bachrach, Peter. *The Theory of Democratic Elitism; A Critique*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967.
- Balkus, I. D. The Concept of Interest in Pluralist and Marian Analysis. *Politics and Society*, 1971, 1 (2), 151-177.
- Bennis, W. G.; Benne, K. D., and Chin, R. (Eds.). *The Planning of Change*. 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969, 595-604.
- Bradley, M. et al. *Unbecoming Men: A Man's Conscious Raising Group Writes on Oppression and Themselves*. New York: Times Change Press, 1971.
- Burke, Edmond. Citizen Participation Strategies. *American Institute of Planning Journal*, September 1968, 287-294.
- Caser, L. *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict*. New York: Free Press, 1967.
- Castaneda, Carlos. *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968.
- Chesler, Mark and Warden, Orian. Persistent Problems in "Power and Social Change," *JABS*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (3), 1974.
- Citizen Participation in Community Mental Health Programs. (Source Unknown, Paper available on request from C. Stone.)
- Clark, Kenneth B. and Hopkins, Jeannette. *A Relevant War Against Poverty: A Study of Community Action Programs and Observable Social Change*. A

publication of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968, 1969, 255-256.

- Cohen, Jacob, and Cohen, Patricia. *Applied Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc., 1975.
- Coperstock, Aryeh. *Citizen Participation; The New Religion*. (Source unknown. Paper available on request from C. Stone.), 1975.
- Crowfoot, James, and Chesler, Mark. Contemporary Perspective on Planned Social Change: A Comparison. *JABS*, Vol. 10, No. 3, July-Sept., 1974.
- Dahl, R. A. *Pluralist Democracy in the U.S.: Conflict and Consent*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.
- Dahl, R. A. The Concept of Power. *Behavioral Science*, 1957, 2, 201-218.
- Marian, Wright Edelman. "Moynihan's Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding." *Civil Rights Digest*, Spring 1969, 51-54.
- Ellis, Albert. *Growth Through Reason*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Science and Behavior Books, 1971.
- Etzioni, Amitai. *The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Process*. London: Collier-McMillan Limited; New York: The Free Press, 1968.
- Flavell, John H. *The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget*. New York, Van Nostrand Press, 1963.
- Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder & Herder, 1972.
- Fromm, E. *Man For Himself*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1947.
- Gamson, W. A. *Power and Discontent*. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968.
- Gardner, Nuley. Power Diffussion in the Public Sector, *JABS*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1974, 367-372.
- Glidewell, John C. *Choice Points*. The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

- Hampden-Turner, Charles. *Radical Man*: Cambridge, Schenkmon Publishers, 1976.
- Hardy, Dennis. *Planners in the Hot Seat. Built Environment*. June 1974.
- Harnstein, H., et al. *Social Intervention*. New York: Free Press, 1971.
- Jones, G. N. *Strategies and Tactics of Planned Organizational Change. Human Organization*, 1965, 24 (3), 192-200.
- Kahn, Robert and Boulding, Elise. *Power and Conflict in Organizations*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964.
- Kahn, Si. *How People Get Power*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc. 1970.
- Katz, D. and Kahn, R. *The Social Psychology of Organizations*. New York: Wiley, 1966.
- Kornhauser, William. *The Politics of Mass. Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Free Press, 1959.
- Kinkade, Katheleen. *Power and the Utopian Assumption. JABS*, Vol. 10, No. 3, July-September, 1974, 402-414.
- Krause, Elliot A. "Functions of a Bureaucratic Ideology: Citizen Participation." *Social Problems*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Fall 1968), 129-143.
- Laing, R. D. *The Politics of Experience*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1967.
- Lawrence, P. R. and Lorsch, J. W. *Organization and Environment*. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, 1967.
- Lerner, Max. *America as Civilization*. New York, 1957, 399.
- Lerner, Max. "Electoral Studies and Democratic Theory." *Political Studies*, 1958, No. 6, 1-9.
- Levy, Leonard. *Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side*. Cambridge, Mass., 1963.
- Likert, R. *New Patterns of Management*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.

- Lipset, Seymour. *Working Class Authoritarianism. Political Man*, 1957, 101.
- Mansbridge, Jane. Time, Emotion, and Inequality: 3 Problems of Participatory Groups. *JABS*. Vol. 9, No.2/3, March-June, 1973, 351-368.
- March, James G., Ed. *Handbook of Organizations*. Chicago: Rand-McNally & Co., 1965.
- March, J. G., and Simon, H. A. *Organizations*. New York: Wiley, 1958.
- May, Rollo. *Love and Will*. New York: Marton Press, 1969.
- McGill, Michael E. and Horton, Melvin E., Jr. *Action Research Designs for Training and Development*. National Training and Development and Service Press, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20016, 1973.
- Meyers, William R. Social Ecology and Citizen Participation: A Problem for Planners. Paper submitted for presentation at Conference in 1974.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*. New York: The Free Press, 1970.
- National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, Northwest Washington, D.C., *First Tango in Boston: A Seminar in Organization Change and Development*, 1973.
- Olmusk, R. E. 7 Pure Strategies of Change. In Pfeiffer, J. W. and Jones, J. E. (Eds.), *The 1972 Annual Handbook for Group Facilitators*. Iowa City: University Associates, 1972, 163-172.
- Orum, Anthony M. *On Participation in Political Protest Movements*. *JABS*. Vol. 10, No. 2, April-June 1974, 181-207.
- Perls, Frederick S. *The Gestalt Approach and Eyewitness to Therapy*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Science and Behavior Books, 1973.
- Pesliskis, I. Resistances to Consciousness. In Margan, R (Ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful*. New York: Vintage, 1970, 337-339.

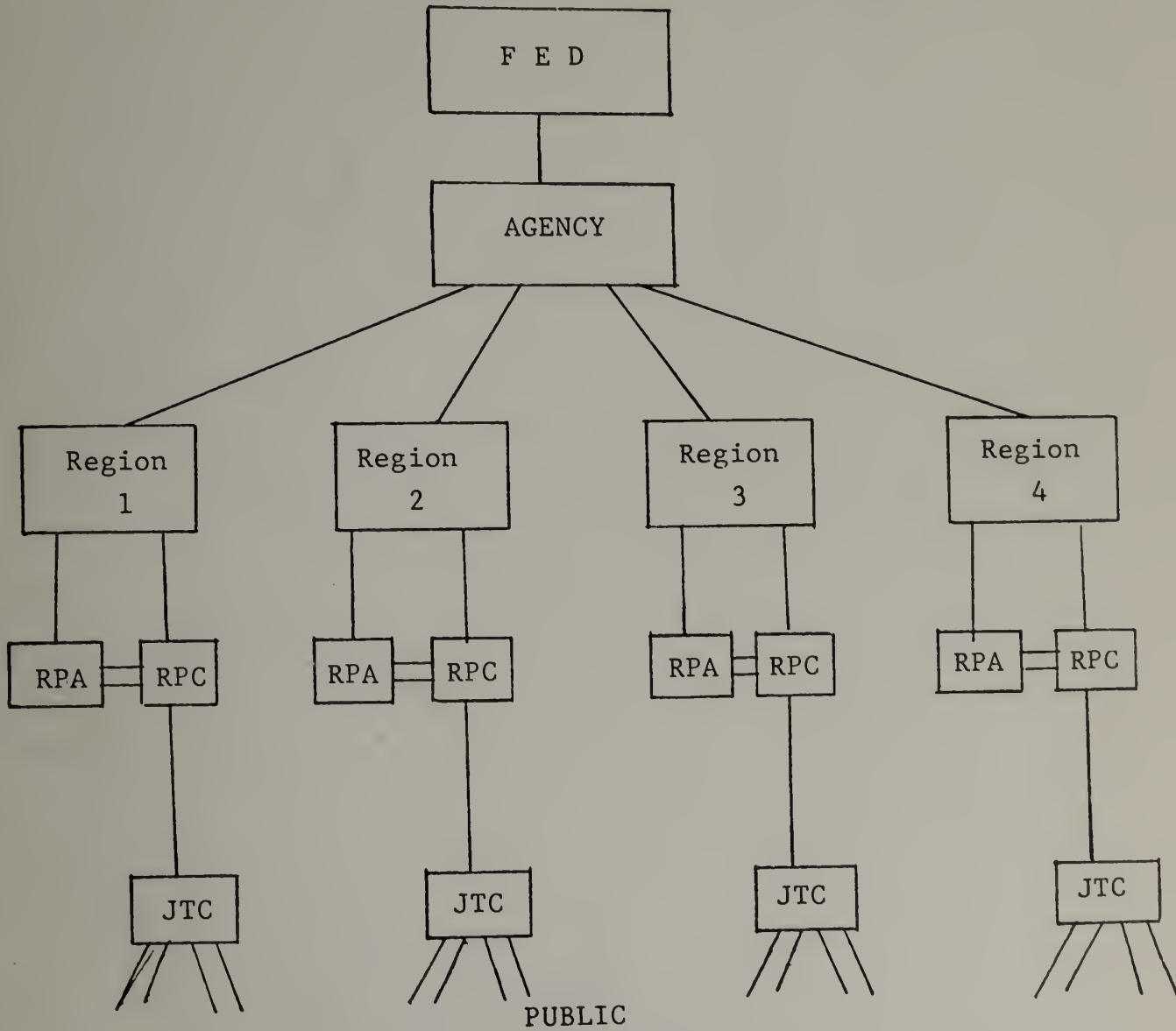


- Piven, Frances Fox. "Federal Interventions in the Cities: The New Urban Programs as a Political Strategy." Mimeographed, Fall 1968, to appear in *Rand McNally's Handbook on the Studies of Social Problems*. Ed. by Erwin O. Smigel
- Plamentz, John. "Electural Studies and Democratic Theory." *Political Studies*, 1958, No. 6, 1-9.
- Rogers, Carl and Stevens, Barry. *Person to Person: The Problem of Being Human*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: Real People Press, 1967.
- Rosener, Judy. Involvement of Concerned Citizens. Extracted from the Proceedings of the Southern Coastal Zone Symposium, Fullerton, Calif., March 17-18, 1972, 41-44.
- Rothman, J. 3 Models of Comm. Org. Practice. In Cox, F.; Erlich, J.; Rothman, J. and Tropman, J. (Eds.) *Strategies of Community Organization*. Peacock Publishers, 1970, 20-36.
- Sartari, Giovanni. *Democratic Theory*. Detroit, 1962.
- Schein, Edgar. *Process Consultation: Its Role in Organizational Development*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969.
- Schlenker, Barry R.; Helm, Bob; and Tedeschi, James T. The Effects of Personality and Site Variables on Behavioral Trust. *Journal of Pers. and Soc. Psych.* March 1973, Vol. 25 (3), 419-427.
- Selznick, Phillip. *T.V.A. and the Grass Roots*. Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953.
- Shapiro, W. On Psychological Liberation. *Social Policy*, 1972, 3, 9-15.
- Skinner, B. F. *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. New York: Knopf Publishers, 1971.
- Slater, P. *The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.
- Slater, Phillip. *Earthwalk*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1974.
- Smith, M. Brewster. *Social Psychology and Human Values*. Chicago: Aldine Publishers, 1969.



- Speck, Ross, and Attneave, Carol. *Family Networks*. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.
- Steiner, C. Cooperation, *Communities*, 1973, 74 (6), 40-46.
- Steven, Roberts. "Hints About Nixon." *Commonwealth*, Dec. 27, 1968, 426.
- Stouffer, Samuel. *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*. New York, 1955, 29-42.
- Tannenbaum, Arnold S. *Control in Organizations*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1968.
- Van Dusem, Richard C. Address to the American Bar Assoc. National Institute on Federal Urban Grants, October 3, 1969, mimeographed.
- White, Sheldon H. "The National Impact Study of Head Start. Mimeographed, 1969.
- Wilcox, Herbert J. "Hierarchy, Human Nature and the Participative Panacea." *JAP*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1969, 53-63.
- Wholford, Paul. Head Start Parents in Participant Groups. *JABS*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April-June, 1974.
- Wollheim, Richard. *Sigmund Freud*. New York: Viking Press, 1971.
- Wood, Mike T. Participation, Influence, and Satisfaction in Group Decision Making. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, October 1972, Vol. 2 (4), 389-399.
- Wood, Robert C. "Urban Government Works." *The Public Interest*. No. 18, Winter 1970, 39-51.

APPENDIX 1  
ORGANIZATIONAL HIERARCHY OF THE AGENCY



## APPENDIX 2

## INTERVIEW

Public Participation Section

1. What does public participation mean to you

\_\_\_ definition

\_\_\_ your stand on it (+ or -)

\_\_\_ positive aspects

\_\_\_ problems

\_\_\_ repercussions on your work

\_\_\_ repercussions for the whole organization

\_\_\_ suggestions

\_\_\_ open comment

2. What is 3-C? How do you see it going?

\_\_\_ definition

\_\_\_ history

\_\_\_ is it working

\_\_\_ problems

\_\_\_ positive aspects

\_\_\_ suggestions

3. Who should make decisions for regions/towns about planning and projects? (transportation)

\_\_\_ feelings

\_\_\_ suggestions

\_\_\_ power relations

\_\_\_ problems

\_\_\_ why are you doing it?

## APPENDIX 3

## CASE STUDY INTERVIEW

1. What happened in the Middletown project with the University and Agency?
  - \_\_\_when did you first hear of it
  - \_\_\_your initial reactions
  - \_\_\_how would that have effected you
  - \_\_\_chronology
  - \_\_\_benefits
  - \_\_\_your preferences for a project
  - \_\_\_your suggestions on that project(what you would have liked)
  - \_\_\_how would it have effected you
  - \_\_\_costs
  - \_\_\_benefits
  - \_\_\_your final decision
  - \_\_\_mistakes you saw
  - Inadequacies of
    - \_\_\_University
    - \_\_\_Agency
    - \_\_\_Region
  - Strengths of
    - \_\_\_University
    - \_\_\_Agency
    - \_\_\_Region
  - \_\_\_What did this have to do with 3-C, to you?
  - \_\_\_Open comment
  - \_\_\_Ideally, what would you like to have seen happen?

# APPENDIX 4

Please list group you are now working with \_\_\_\_\_

## QUESTIONNAIRE

In general, how much influence do you think each of the following groups of people have in determining the policies and sections which are later put into effect in the form of projects?

Please use the scales to the right of the questions to make your ratings. First, circle how you think things presently ARE (REAL column). Second, circle the rating for how you would LIKE things to be (IDEAL column).

	REAL					IDEAL						
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
	Little Influence	Some Influence	Moderate Influence	Considerable Influence	A Great Deal of Influence	Little Influence	Some Influence	Moderate Influence	Considerable Influence	A Very Great Deal of Influence		
1. Federal Agencies	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---
2. Agency	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---
3. Regional Planning Staff	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---
4. Regional Planning Commission	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---
5. Joint Transportation Planning Committee	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---
6. The General Public	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---	---	1---	2---	3---	4---	5---



## APPENDIX 5

There is only what is. The WHAT - SHOULD - BE  
never did exist, but People keep trying to live UP  
to it. There is only what is.

The truth is what is, not what should be.  
What should be is a dirty lie.

. . . Lenny Bruce



